13: Hogbin OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

437

[For detailed information on items exchanged in a bridewealth transaction, see Category 583.]

12 points. First let us consider exchange partners as though they are strangers, with distinct destinies and personal interests, who decide to seek an alliance with one another for reasons which may range from psychological attraction to economic expediency. From this viewpoint the establishment and maintenance of a social relationship is always problematical and incomplete. The problem of how social exchange can ever get started has been a subject of speculation not only for [773] social scientists but also for the Melanesians themselves.[1] In the Orokaiva [437] folk-system the starting mechanism of an exchange system is presented in the form of a myth recounting a unique free gift made by a demi-god whereby the exchange cycle was set in motion. Historical change is represented by the emergence of a new demi-god setting up new exchange cycles. Once the relationship is started, it is composed of a perpetual cycle of exchanges between the two partners.

We may call this view of exchange phenomenological because it starts from *ego's* experience of a social relationship. *Ego* experiences *alter's* world as transcendant. As Husserl and Schutz have pointed out, social relations are necessarily based on an idealisation of the 'interchangeability of standpoints' (Schutz 1967: 126, 312–29). For that reason they are always to some extent precarious and incomplete. If our method of ethnography is to go beyond pure phenomenology, we also need to view exchange from a second viewpoint which I shall call analytical. From this viewpoint, it is impossible to conceive of the making, receiving and reciprocating of gifts by individuals in any culture unless that culture has conceptualised in some way the complementarity of donor and receiver. This notion of complementarity is inseparable from all our discourse about giving and receiving. For instance, in the present work I shall write a good deal about the exchange relationships between mother's brother and sister's son, husband and wife, son-in-law and father-in-law, friend and friend, creditor and debtor, victor and vanquished. Not only have the patterns of relationship linking these dyads been laid down by Orokaiva custom, but the complementary nature of these relationships is already implicit in the words I have used to describe them.

Although one might, with Nadel (1957), describe these dyads as logically related *roles*, this could give the impression that I am concerned merely with a set of rights and obligations that the role partners have *vis-à-vis* each other. The present work, however, deals with economic and psychological as well as normative aspects of dyadic relations. In a study of corporate groups, one must assume that exchanges between a dyad (*Ego* and *Alter*) are determined by corporate obligations. In a study of exchange systems, however, one must assume that the exchanges are in principle voluntary, and that normative rules specify no more than a code of behaviour by means of which it is commonly believed that *Alter* may be induced to do what *Ego* wants. (This desired object is often no more than the establishment or maintenance of a social relationship.) There are often no positive rules obliging A to fit in with E's wishes if E performs some specific act of liberality. For reasons shown in detail in later chapters, I prefer to think of acts of giving as magical rather than as obligating devices. I do not thereby question the importance of norms in explaining social regularities. Magic certainly contains norms: acts which are regularly performed to bring about certain ends because such acts are thought to be especially effective in eliciting a generous response.

movements were more extravagant and exciting than those of the others; they 535
were allowed, and did, break out of line for extra flourishes that took their [825]
fancy while still remaining true to the spirit of each type of dance. A notable [776]
feature of the dances is the identification with spirits and animals on the part of
the dancers. Mistakes in drumming and dancing are thought very inauspicious for [777]
the well-being of the community. Although men and women do not dance as
partners, the dances give men a chance to show off their attractions, while the [832]
women give signs to men who impress them.

3. *Economics*

Production. The Orokaiva work force involves, in some ways, everybody from 464
the age he can walk almost until the day of death. The very young and the very
old are expected to make whatever contribution they are capable of. The 461
division of labour between the sexes has been the subject of enquiry by Williams,
Waddell and Krinks. A sex basis in the division of labour is obvious in a great 462
many activities, as the charts clearly show.[7] But even where activities are
'shared' between men and women, it is most common to see each sex group
work at a different aspect of the task; they rarely do exactly the same job.
Calculations by Waddell and Krinks show that the Orokaiva are fairly fully 464
occupied in terms of the number of weekly working hours. Their calculations
suggest that, given the present technology and social organisation, there is
comparatively little slack in the working week that could be taken up by cash
cropping activities on a major scale.

The working group is most frequently the household, occupied in the *pure*. 592
Sometimes close relatives work together on larger tasks, helping each other in
turn. Although old men do maintain their own gardens, they tend to receive
frequent help from sons, sons-in-law and sometimes sisters' sons. Co-operation 476
between men is also common during hunting and housebuilding. Co-operative
groups of five or more men or women are also seen occasionally, e.g. for making
roofing for a house, planting and harvesting yams. Co-operation of a total village 621
is rare, but there are co-operative fishing and hunting expeditions. Activities
related to feasting tend to be communal also.

Distribution. The Orokaiva have a subsistence economy where the bulk of 433
goods produced are consumed by the household of the producer. Though 437
patterns of exchange will take up a good part of the present work, it is necessary
to state at the outset that only a small percentage of everyday produce enters
the exchange system in any way. Waddell estimates that only 4.1 per cent of
taro produced in Sivepe is disposed of by sale, gift exchange or barter. While the
proportion is twice as high in Inonda, this is due to quite recent changes in the
economic network in that area. One is bound to agree with Waddell that food
exchanges, whatever their economic utility, are no great drain on Orokaiva
resources. Of the produce entering the exchange network only a minute
proportion leaves the village where it is grown. At a comparatively large feast I
saw in Inonda in 1967, I estimated that Inonda was giving away, at the very
utmost, 5 per cent of its annual production. As plantings are always made on a
scale sufficient for survival *even if the harvest is poor*, there will be a surplus of at
least 5 per cent after a good growing season. Unless the growing season is good, [527]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 27]

TABLE II/5 (*continued*)

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Activity	*Total hours*	*Percentage contrib.**
Both		*Men*
Paid work	1,128.8	56
Other crops – harvest	1,109.0	54
Sick – personal	442.6	53
Yam – harvest	412.6	53
Coffee – process	398.4	53
Collecting firewood	234.1	52
Social obligations – mourning	783.9	51
Other crops – market	66.9	51
Church services	1,946.2	46
Meetings	898.7	44
Fishing	165.0	44
Council work	824.2	42
Taro – maintain	2,551.6	37

* Where one sex carries out more than two-thirds of the work and where the total amount exceeds .01 per cent (29.0 hours) of the total hours active for the whole sample.

there is a ritual prohibition, for which I shall later quote the mythological 433
charter, to hold a feast at all. 437

In any case, there seem to be two basic limitations to the size of a feast. First, 527
the custom of restricting the number of guests to the inhabitants of *one* village,
usually of about the same size as the inviting village. There are of course many 527
variations to this custom but the principle of limitation is usually present. 574
Secondly, the generosity shown to the guests, though outwardly most
impressive, is restricted by the amount the guests can physically carry away. 628
Though the food lying on the feasting platform looks inexhaustible to the
observer, and the guests are capable of carrying away a heroic amount of food
after a feast, the overall economic impact is minor.

Waddell remarks most interestingly that, in comparison with the main crops 439
(taro, bananas and sugar-cane), a far higher proportion of dry season crops enter
the exchange network. This applies especially to sago, breadfruit, sweet potatoes 437
and yams. Waddell does not discuss nuts, but these are often given to friends and 438
function as the small change of sociability. Both *tauga* and *puga* are stored for
the season of shortage; betelnut is a traditional trade item. All vegetable produce
is nowadays considered suitable for marketing. Villages near Popondetta have far
more opportunity to sell or barter produce than the villages on the Mount
Lamington foothills.

It is customary for animal food to enter the exchange network, either as a gift
or as part of a festive meal to which guests are invited. Meat is ceremonial food, [261]
eaten for instance to mark the settlement of a quarrel. It is considered somewhat

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 31]

improper to eat meat without introducing some element of gift exchange, very 439 much like 'party food' in our own society.

In general, people take any wood they need from their own land. The only 437 record I have of transactions involving wood concerns the obtaining of less 438 common building materials for houses. My informants made a clear distinction [261] between gifts of bush trees and gifts of sago. The former kind create no specific debt but whenever sago is taken a return gift is expected, because, I was told, sago is a cultivated plant.

With regard to feathers and *hambo*, attitudes differ as between areas where raw materials are plentiful and areas where they are rare. On the Mount Lamington foothills they seldom enter the exchange network – perhaps once a generarion, during a ceremony of uncommon importance. On the alluvial plains, they are a frequent trade item.[8] Of other items of traditional trade, betelnuts and lime are the most important. Betelnut grows only on the foothills; lime is [276] made of shells collected on the seashore. It was, and is, therefore common to exchange one for the other, as betelnut can be chewed only together with lime and betelnut chewing is as popular a social activity among the Orokaiva as it is throughout New Guinea and Indonesia. A peppery plant called *hingi* (piper betel) is always chewed with the other two ingredients. This again grows best on the hills, so that it is often exchanged with the betelnuts. The alluvial plains are in a poor bargaining position with regard to the betelnut complex as they produce none of the ingredients from their own land. It may be partly for this reason that they are accustomed to accumulating animal products and to using these as objects of trade.

By far the largest number of exchanges take place within a village, only a [629] minority of transactions occurring between members of different village

TABLE II/7

ACQUISITION OF 'HAMBO' AND 'DI' 425
(*Source*: Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: 51; Rimoldi 1966: 80) 301

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	Sivepe		*Inonda*	
	Hambo	*Di*	*Hambo*	*Di*
Inheritance, cash value ($)	48.40	17.60	18.60	5.70
Percentage	53%	40%	17%	12%
Cash Purchase, value ($)	9.30	4.50	36.10	2.00
Percentage	10%	10%	33%	4%
Bride price or other exchanges, value ($)	17.70	6.50	48.30	17.90
Percentage	19%	14%	44%	38%
Made or caught, value ($)	16.60	15.40	5.90	21.10
Percentage	18%	35%	5%	45%
Total, value: ($)	92.00	44.00	108.90	46.70

439 communities. When these do occur they are usually between neighbouring
437 communities, as Waddell and Krinks have clearly demonstrated.[9] Intertribal
trade, though small in volume, was politically important in that it provided a
438 motive for terminating, or at least interrupting, warlike disputes. Intertribal trade
[628] was mainly in animal products, betelnut ingredients, feathers, *hambo*, and
certain artifacts which were known to be of high quality in particular districts,
e.g. Binandere pots were exchanged for Yega loincloths; only mountain people
could supply cassowary feathers, and so on. Such exchanges may, under modern
conditions, take the form of gift exchange, barter or sale but it may be doubted
whether barter was ever as clearly institutionalised and differentiated from gift
exchange among the Orokaiva as is the case in many other parts of Melanesia.

433 *Money.* With a few reservations, one could describe the role of money in
436 the modern Orokaiva economy in much the same terms as Salisbury used for the
Siane (1962). Salisbury distinguishes between three nexuses of activity. One is
concerned with the production, distribution and consumption of subsistence
goods, another with luxury goods and a third with ceremonial goods. The three
nexuses involve not only categories of goods but also different types of social
436 groups. Among the Orokaiva as among the Siane, money mainly enters the
luxury and ceremonial nexuses. As with the Siane, the Orokaiva tend to store
454 pound notes in treasure boxes, with *di* and *hambo*, and to keep them for special
purposes which are often ceremonial (payment of brideprice, giving of feasts and
436 church donations), but sometimes utilitarian (payment of taxes). Purchases in
trade stores are mostly for luxury items, i.e. objects which the Orokaiva use only
439 when there are guests to be entertained (tinned meat and fish, sugar, tea,
[262] batteries, cartridges, kerosene and tobacco, for example). Foods like rice, bread
and flour are classifiable as luxuries among the hill people, as here they are used
exclusively as guest foods. It is clear, however, from Waddell and Krinks'
statistics that on the alluvial plains near Popondetta, rice and flour is bought in
far greater quantity in months when taro is in short supply. These products are
thus taking the place of subsidiary crops. People in this area prefer to make
money from cash crops and services and to spend some of their cash on
supplementary staples. The Siane, at the time of Salisbury's research, did not
depend on cash as a source of staple food.

177 The use of money for capital goods merits some attention. Salisbury defines
capital as a stock of goods, present before a productive act is performed, used in
436 production and 'immobilised' from direct consumption while the act is in
439 progress. Tools and implements are classed as 'durable instruments of production.' Houses and clothing, etc., are called consumer's capital because they
511 'produce' services for their owners while they exist. It is interesting to compare,
in respect of monetary input, everyday consumer goods and the types of capital
just mentioned. While the former have generally remained outside the cash
economy, it is precisely in the sphere of capital goods that the traditional
industries have been largely or wholly replaced by cash-purchased innovations
such as trade, store clothing, agricultural, hunting and cooking implements.
Totally new items – radios, flashlights, wrist watches, pressure lamps, sewing
machines and guitars have been added. Locked suitcases, for the storage of
valuables, are very popular, indicating that safe storage used to be a vexing
problem.

Most of these capital goods enter the village by gift or gift exchange. Some 437
types (e.g. kitchenware and clothes) may pass from one village to another by 438
way of brideprice, but other types of gifts (e.g. radios) are hardly ever made in
a ceremonial context, but only to close kinsmen. I am not at all sure whether, in 439
Salisbury's terminology, the latter type should be classified as a luxury or a
ceremonial item.

One conclusion emerging from the various studies made in the 1960s is that 434
total village income has risen rapidly among the Orokaiva. The sources vary. it 178
may be due to outside employment of persons still ordinarily resident in the
village, to increased cash cropping, to sale of food surpluses or to increased
remittances from local men employed away from the village.

4. *History*

The main object of this section is to provide some background for the study of 121
Orokaiva exchange, especially between tribes and between Orokaiva and
Europeans.

In physical constitution, Williams considered the Orokaiva to be 'midway 144
between the typical Papuan and the typical Melanesian'. Dupeyrat, who has
recently (1965) surveyed the evidence, considers the Orokaiva 'basically of the
Papuan Mountain type', but mixed with Polyno-melanesian elements, late-
comers in Papua, who spread to the Northern District via Maisina and Manigela.
It is certainly true that one notices more Polyno-melanesian features along the
coast (e.g. among the Yega) than inland.

In the period just prior to European occupation, the most notable aspect of 174
Orokaiva history that can be reconstructed is pressure from the dense population
on the Mount Lamington foothills upon the sparser populations surrounding the 167
mountain on all sides, but especially to the north and east. These sparser
populations (to whom Williams gives the common name Sauaha) pressed upon
the still sparser populations dwelling in the still less fertile country on their own
northern and eastern borders (see Chinnery and Beaver 1916; Williams 1930:
152–4; Monckton 1921: Ch. XXIV; Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: 14–16).

In 1888, in response to Australian pressure, the British government annexed 175
Papua. The first administrator, Sir William McGregor, made many arduous 648
exploratory expeditions while establishing his rule in this vast unknown
territory. On one of these expeditions he ascended the Mambare river to its 177
highest navigable point, a few miles above Tamata creek, where he discovered
the existence of gold in the sand and shores of the river (Monckton 1921: 78;
Murray 1912: 326–8). This was the first discovery of gold in Papua with
important commercial prospects, and led to a major movement of prospectors
and miners to the Northern District. Relationships with the Papuans were bad
from the beginning, and there were numerous killings by both sides. In 1900 150
miners were working on the Yodda river; the Yodda and Gira goldfields together
produced 15,000 oz. of gold (Murray 1912: 333). In order to stop the
bloodshed, resident magistrates were stationed at Ioma, along the Mambare and
at two places on the Kumusi river, which was for some years the access route to
the Yodda field.

The early relationships between Orokaiva and Australians may be gleaned 175
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222 4 Orokaiva: *tauga*; botanical: *cycas media*; Orokaiva: *puga*; botanical: *terminalia okaria*. There are two varieties of breadfruit, called *oga* and *eumba*. They are both somewhat unusual but I failed, in spite of sending samples, to obtain indentifications.

241 5 Details of garden production are given in Table II/3. Rainfall at Sivepe and Inonda is shown in Rimoldi 1966:109; Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:100.

342 6 A plan of a contemporary Orokaiva house is shown in Fig. 3. Recent changes in house design, house construction and domestic amenities are summarised in Table II/4.

462 7 See Tables II/5 and II/6. Williams' data are taken from an unpublished manuscript and appeared first in Schwimmer 1969:226. I have discussed the Orokaiva division of labour in more detail in Schwimmer 1969: 145–50 and explained the apparent discrepancies between Williams' table and Waddell's and Krinks' statistics.

439 8 Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) provide a list of prices prevailing in this
437 trade. They report that there is still some trade in shell ornaments from the coast and in feathers for head dresses from the mountains. Informants at Eroro, on the coast near Buna, gave me details of their traditional trade with Managalasi of the nearby mountains. A Sivepe man who has hunting rights to land near Ajoro goes there to hunt birds and sell the feathers. His chances of finding any of the more valuable birds near Sivepe are remote. The difference in Sivepe and Inonda patterns (i.e. the foothills and the alluvial plains) appears from the data in Table II/7. It will be seen that Sivepe stock is to a far greater extent inherited, whereas Inonda stock is to a far greater extent acquired through brideprice (value $13), barter (value $21.60) and other exchanges (value $13.70).

439 9 Dr. Waddell has provided a detailed statistical table of the geographical
438 distribution of subsistence produce (Waddell and Krinks 1968:218). This table
437 provides clear and detailed information on the geographical range of the Sivepe exchange network. A full descriptive account may be found in Schwimmer 1969: 41–69.

648 10 An interesting picture of this period of Orokaiva history is drawn in Beaver, 1916.

11 Full information on these cults will be found in Chinnery and Haddon
795 (1917) and Williams (1928). If has escaped previous commentators that Bia, who started the taro cult, was employed for some years by Monckton, and participated in various punitive enterprises with an alacrity most pleasing to his master. He was described in Monckton's books in rather revealing detail (e.g. 1921: 185, 268, 269, 295, 308; 1922: 10, 13, 65, 136, 172, 214, 216). For the present relationship between the Orokaiva and the missions, see Schwimmer 1969: 123–33.

871 12 The general subject of Orokaiva economic development since 1951 is
very fully covered in numerous bulletins published by the New Guinea Research
872 Unit from 1963 to the present, and also in Schwimmer 1969. A general
797 indication of the investments in socio-economic development is given by a table
of public expenditure in the territory of Papua for the years ended 30 June 1961
657 to 1965 (Commonwealth of Australia: *Annual Report of the Territory of Papua*
648 *for the period 1 July 1964 to 30 June 1965*, 179). The growing emphasis on educational services is perhaps the most notable aspect. Table II/8 indicates the pattern of school attendance. Table II/9 summarises the activities of the Higaturu Local Government Council; roads, water supplies and clinics are perhaps the projects most relevant to development.

101 13 The three villages have been sketched in figures 4, 5 and 6. Education and occupational experience at Sivepe and Hohorita are analysed in Tables II/10 and II/11.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXCHANGE SYSTEM AND THE NEW AGE

1. *Cultural Changes*

177 Many significant changes have occurred in Orokaiva society since European
[241] contact. The introduction of cash cropping has made the Orokaiva, to some
[437] extent, into a peasantry, depending to a limited degree on monetised marketing.
Furthermore, there has been a large amount of labour migration, mostly by male
[167] workers whose families stay behind in villages. Even in the villages, technological
[433] innovations have been influential in raising productivity and improving standards
of living, while sharply reducing the game population. People have become
[657] accustomed to the existence of a specialised political authority, wielded by
Australians but supported and assisted by Papuan functionaries. Inter-village and
[797] inter-tribal warfare has been effectively suppressed. The Orokaiva give at least
nominal allegiance to Christianity, and thus to the principle of obedience to an
omnipotent god.

829 These changes have profound implications for Orokaiva political philosophy.
177 As we have seen, the Orokaiva recognised the importance of Hobbes' question:
how can a man avoid a perpetual war between all and all? The answer, briefly, was
657 that social order can be created by a system of exchange partnerships. But this
was not Hobbes' own answer nor that of the Australians who now rule New
Guinea. If the changes pursued by the colonial government are wholly
successful, it is clear that exchange partnerships, as the basic source of social
order, must become subordinate to legitimate central political authority and the
modern market economy. In other words, there is what Gluckman calls a
'contradiction' (1965: 109) between Australian policy and the exchange-oriented
Orokaiva social philosophy. It is possible, but cannot be predicted, that
this 'contradiction' will eventually lead the Orokaiva to abandon their traditional
exchange ideology. In the meantime, however, it is already clear to the Orokaiva
that their world view is being seriously challenged by white wealth and power.

436 The effect of pressure on the exchange system is evident in many spheres. In
the economic sphere, the Orokaiva still carry on most of their non-monetary
437 transactions by the traditional system, using gift exchange between consan-
431 guines, affines and bond friends. Furthermore, gifts of money are being made
along traditional lines, money being used either as a substitute for *hambo* and
other valuables, or as gifts from urban migrants to country kin. On the other
hand, store-bought goods are, by a general convention, excluded from the full
operation of the exchange system, only a minority being distributed as gifts. The

tendency is to use money income to purchase goods needed for daily life but 436
obtainable in the subsistence sector of the economy (Waddell and Krinks 1968: 437
192). Only a small minority of the goods used by Orokaiva fall into this
category, but if the tendency to exclude most store-bought goods from the gift 431
exchange system continues, we may expect that system gradually to decline in importance as the monetary sector of the economy increases.

In the political sphere, the traditional system of control is still generally in 621
operation at the village level. Under this system some men may exert great
influence over a community, but they cannot enforce compliance by physical 622
sanctions. While the Orokaiva generally maintain this system, an exception is 657
made for councillors and committee men acting under delegated power from the government. These men may lay complaints with Australian authority and in
practice do not always disdain to do so. Among the New Zealand Maori, any [171]
leader who so much as threatens to invoke European authority risks being
nicknamed 'Mr. Government' and losing all influence. Not so among the Orokaiva; the argument is that it is better for such powers to be used by an
Orokaiva official than by the government itself. Nonetheless, use of authority 181
outside the extended family goes against the Orokaiva ethos and undermines the
exchange system in a minor way, because an official, by invoking his *authority*, 177
can obtain something from Alter without becoming indebted to Alter. A [622]
traditional leader, under the same circumstances, might have incurred a debt or
drawn on a kind of credit balance. Here again, the departure from the traditional exchange system does not greatly intrude in everyday affairs, but is symptomatic of the type of changes social development would bring. There has thus been a growing inconsistency between the norms of the traditional exchange system and the facts of labour migration, cash cropping, adherence to the Christian Church, attendance at meetings called by councillors, school education, use of medical services, changes in house architecture, participation in women's clubs, savings and loan societies, rubber co-operatives and the like. How, if at all, did Orokaiva thought cope with these basic inconsistencies?

I have explained how traditional institutions are accounted for. When I 773
inquired why it is that mankind wears clothing, makes fires, contracts marriages, I would be told myths about the *dema* responsible for these institutions. I would also be told that after the *dema* had shown men how to act in these matters there had never been any change. There was primordial time during which men lived, one might say, in the state of nature. In spite of the absence of strife and death that era was not invariably represented as a happy one. Women were desolate because they had no men to marry, no fire to cook with, no houses to live in. In spite of most obstinate and desperate efforts, graphically described in the myths, mankind failed to get the things it needed. The *dema* thus brought release from suffering when they introduced cultural goods, techniques and rules of behaviour. But after the *dema* died, nothing ever changed again.

While such beliefs belie any suggestions that the Orokaiva are without 173
history,[1] it remains true that the Orokaiva repertoire of historical explanations is 773
very small. The actions of the *dema*, the scission of lineages comparable to the
branches of a tree, the settlement of villages by men sleeping under a *barevo* tree – this completes the set of traditional historical explanations of which I have knowledge. How could the Orokaiva, confined to this set of concepts, find

623 657 177 working out a development policy, but rather of obeying a sacred formula that came to the Australian authorities from a *dema*-like source and was then passed on as a gift to the Orokaiva.

829 [123] Are all these gifts derived ultimately, in Orokaiva estimation, from Jesus Christ, or are there other *dema* figures as well to whom these gifts are ascribed? Who would they be? This is a hard subject for a white anthropologist to inquire into. Informants answer: 'We do not know. Nobody has told us.' The anthropologist feels uneasily that if anyone knows the source of Western wealth and power, it ought to be himself rather than his informants.

3. *New Exchange Cycles*

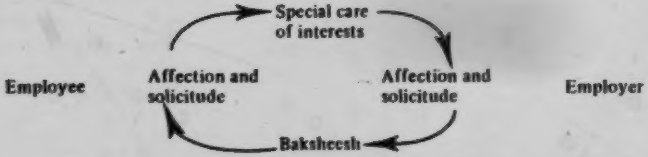
121 The image of post-contact history reconstructed here from statements by Orokaiva informants seems unduly dreamlike and idealised. This is because they are statements about the metaphysical starting mechanisms making social relations possible. Turning to the relationships themselves, I find that they are often marred by a severe conflict of interests and values. For the purpose of a brief overview, we shall consider relationships with representatives of three types of European-introduced institutions: church, commerce, and government. Following our theoretical scheme, we shall be especially interested in the objects that are exchanged in these relationships and in the mediating elements that make possible social exchange.

461 466 829 437 177 An employer of Papuan labour is interested chiefly in obtaining the compliance of his workers by the payment of money. Usually he is not at all interested in social exchange, but in a contract whereby he acquires the total work output of the worker for the period he is on the job. The Orokaiva, however, regards all the work he does as part of a social relationship with the person for whom he works. First of all, he expects that person to feed him while he is working. This is because he has been prevented by the person he is helping from going to his own garden. The employer in New Guinea usually does feed his workers, subtracting the cost of the food from the wages he pays. But secondly, the Orokaiva, lacking a long tradition of wage labour, regards his work as a long series of gifts to his employer enabling him to claim return gifts. He does not think of his wages as being a total discharge of his employer's obligations. They were promised at the beginning, but since then many unpredictable things have happened: he has loyally looked after his employer's interests in a series of small crises; he finds he has additional urgent needs he did not envisage when he agreed to come to the job; he believes his labour has yielded his employer vast profits. As the Orokaiva understand a social partnership, events of this kind all create a claim upon the person who has received help. Thus, the worker keeps on pressing his employer most persuasively for extra gifts of various sorts, in addition to his wages. This pattern is found throughout New Guinea and is known as the *baksheesh* system. Employers often give in to the demands, hand out various extras, and allow for these costs in plantation budgets.[3]

466 437 177 The basic significance of the *baksheesh* has already been pointed out by Mauss (1966: 250–5, 229–32); '*La chose ainsi transmise est, en effet, chargée de l'individualité du donateur.*' It rests on a notion that both worker and

employer give something in excess of their contractual obligation. These services 466
and gifts over and above the formal contract are a form of social exchange. Both 437
parties seem to be expressing affection and solicitude for the other. The worker
does this by special care for his employer's interests; the employer does it by 177
'baksheesh'. The latter are never just extra handouts or cast-offs, though these may also be given. They are usually responses to appeals by the worker who describes an emergency that has arisen for which he requires some object of usually quite limited value: old batteries, a little kerosene, etc. It is the employer's solicitude in response to a claim which gives these objects their special value (though, of course, they have some monetary value as well). This social exchange can be expressed in the following diagram:

MODEL 6



This model represents the ideal norm of the relationship, as seen by the Orokaiva. He is well aware that the reality often falls far short of the ideal norm: not all employers show affection and solicitude. It is, however, a more serious flaw of the model that the white employer would totally reject it; his ideal norm of the employer-employee relationship is a very different one that does not involve social exchange (or baksheesh) at all. There is, in fact, a conflict of ideal norms between employer and employee. The actual arrangements on the plantations, which I have briefly sketched, are a sort of compromise or accommodation between the two conflicting concepts of employment: the employee accepts the fact that baksheesh is usually rather unwillingly and rudely handed over, as being a regrettable white man's custom; and the employer somehow makes room for a minimum of baksheesh on his balance sheet.

The fact that the conflict of values remains unresolved in this relationship 177
does not vitally threaten plantation development, but similar conflicts are not so easily sidestepped in the Orokaiva's relationship with government and the mission. Neither community development nor religious conversion will be successful without some ideological commitment on the part of the receivers of the message. Obvious though this statement is, it is worth while to spell out its implications here, as it applies to the implementation of government policy.

Policy is formulated in Port Moresby and promulgated by the Administrator 657
in the form of ordinances and regulations. Instructions on the enforcement of 177
these are prepared by the Department of District Administration in Port Moresby and interpreted, in the light of local conditions, by the Department's officers in Popondetta, the administrative centre of the Northern District. But how can these ordinances and regulations be enforced in the jungle by a very limited number of patrol officers? Until 1956, a rather simple procedure was used. The patrol officers appointed a large number of suitable Orokaiva as village [625]

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

423 171 writings of Berndt, Brookfield and Brown, Hogbin, Lawrence, Meggitt, Rappaport, Salisbury, Serpenti, Wagner and several others. The Orokaiva system falls within this general pattern, though with less emphasis on overriding rights held by clan and lineage, and more emphasis on individual rights than, for instance among the Siane and Mae Enga, less emphasis on corporate leadership than among the Garia, and more incidence of duality of rights than among the Chimbu, and so forth. Though the time has come when a comparative study of these systems could profitably be undertaken, it falls outside my present purpose which is to analyse the significance of land transactions, especially among the Orokaiva.

423 437 121 In order to carry out this analysis, we must first describe the basic categories of land transactions. We shall not use the term 'transactions' solely in a legal and economic sense, but more broadly in accordance with Mauss' concept of exchange as a total phenomenon. Thus, land enters crucially in 'transactions' between husbands and wives, and between men and spirits, and these 'transactions' will be considered before we turn to the more familiar topic of transactions between men. Here we have to distinguish between transactions within and outside the patrilineage. Our general argument will be that all of them occur as part of a continuing series of social exchanges, and that useholds granted on varying conditions must be regarded basically as benefits exchanged for other past or future benefits. In as much as paternal protection and filial service are very common objects of social exchange in these transactions, paternal protection being mediated by land grants, we may observe the practical operation of a system of patrifiliation.

423 241 362 A few words should first be said about the significance of land itself. The Orokaiva spend most of their days in their individual garden plots. They are tied to them not only by a total dependence on the produce, but also by deep bonds of affection. A man and his wife like nothing better, generally, than to spend the whole day, and virtually every day, in their garden together. These are intimate places where nobody would go without an invitation and where nobody is disturbed or called away except in a serious emergency. They are the most private places the Orokaiva has, much more private than the village houses where every sound and movement can be seen or overheard. Even so, physical privacy is secured often by no more than a narrow ring of second growth around the cultivations. Many people have a garden house, ornamental shrubs, places to rest and sit. Orokaiva gardens can be very homely and beautiful. People rest there in the heat of the day. They are favourite places for love-making. [633]

581 423 241 [462] [412] The most ubiquitous of all social transactions mediated by the land occur between husband and wife. Perhaps the most important rights and obligations arising out of marriage have to do with garden land. Both the male and female gardening tasks are, of course, learnt before marriage. Bachelors have their own gardens in which they do all the work which is not specifically set aside for women and taboo to men. They clear the land; they help with planting (using the digging stick); they protect the land against pigs and other dangers; they weed. It is a fact, already observed by Williams, that a girl choosing a husband takes serious account of the state of the garden of her intended spouse. She does not like to marry a man whose garden is in a poor state. The bachelor is assisted by a sister, or brother's wife, or by his mother with the dropping of seed into the

community purpose. Whenever a new village is built it is necessary for some 423
individual to give garden land. Often several individuals give a piece each, but 621
such a gift does not entitle the donor to decide just who should live on each 431
house site, nor to control in detail what residents do with their housing sites.
Trees planted by householders remain theirs in perpetuity. Such gifts to the [554]
community are not balanced by any specific reciprocal gifts or services, but the
donors benefit by the contiguity of the village to their gardening land and
perhaps, in a diffuse way, they benefit in social and religious status. Similar gifts
have also been made in recent times for co-operative cash-cropping ventures,
such as rice-growing in the late 1940s and a recent rubber co-operative in Sivepe.
Here again, the total 'company' land was contributed by a number of people,
some of whom shared out parcels to persons interested in planting rubber trees.
In such cases, donors told me they acted for the good of the community, and
everybody emphasised that the recipients incurred no obligation.

Let us now summarise briefly what social benefits are being exchanged 423
between partners in land transactions. Frequent as they are, voluntary land 425
transfers are always treated, in ideological statements, as departures from a 571
regular and more secure patrilineal pattern. It is a though a maternal uncle or
affine or distant agnate has voluntarily assumed the role of fictional father of the
borrower. One receives a benefit which, in the 'normal' state of affairs, would be
given only to a younger brother or son. I do not know of cases where long-term
borrowing of land in itself sufficed to induce a man to change his clan affiliation,
as seems to happen among the Garia. In one case I quoted, a man adopted the
lender's plant emblem, thus emphasising the element of fictional fatherhood.
Other informants regarded this as entirely proper and highly sympathetic
behaviour, though totally voluntary. Harvest gifts, however, were not wholly
voluntary but expected. So was a certain filial attitude of loyalty, obligatory
avoidance of quarrels, and willingness to perform supportive services. Only in the
case of a son-in-law performing bride service did such an obligation place the
borrower in a servant-like position. On the contrary, in most of the cases I
quoted it was the lender who felt the stronger need to attract the borrower and
enter into a closer relationship with him. For instance, the donor would often
have a strong desire for a reliable military and political alliance with the
borrower. If supportive familial services were needed, as in the case of old men
and widowers, these services were not provided in repayment for land, but in
fulfilment of a kinship-determined social obligation. By making a gift of land,
the donor was doing no more than express his quasi-paternal sentiments.

We may conclude that, strictly, land is hardly ever an 'object of exchange', in 423
that one cannot suggest any specific major counter-gift or counter-service which 437
could be used to reciprocate. Allegiance and protection, benefits which the
land-borrower usually does furnish, cannot be bought with land. They may be 571
given as a response to quasi-paternal support and the enhancement of economic,
social and ritual status. Social benefits of this kind are regularly exchanged
between non-agnates. In fact, it may be said that it is from social exchanges of [182]
this kind between non-agnates that Orokaiva society derives its cohesion or, to
use Lawrence's phrase, maintains its security circle.

Why is land appropriate as a mediating object in such exchanges of social 423
431
571

CHAPTER VI

TARO

1. *Introduction*

It has already been pointed out (Chapter II) that taro is the staple food of the 824
Orokaiva and that most of the taro produced is consumed directly by the [262]
producing household (over 90 per cent in all villages surveyed). Nonetheless, taro
is the most ubiquitous of all Orokaiva objects of exchange: most households give [431]
some of it away every day and it is part of the conventional set of gifts that [437]
change hands on virtually every ceremonial occasion.

It is the purpose of this chapter to show that taro has all the characteristics of
an object of mediation in the sense in which the term was used in the discussion
on land. In particular, man identifies himself with taro, there is a series of myths [773]
which validate this identification, and these myths indicate the special
significance of taro gifts. A wide range of social relations are mediated through [431]
taro gifts. Their main purpose is usually the mediating of social relations rather
than the setting up of a claim for a specific return gift. In this respect again taro
and land gifts resemble one another.

In his discussion of 'Reciprocity and Food', Sahlins (1965: 170–4) takes very 121

824
137

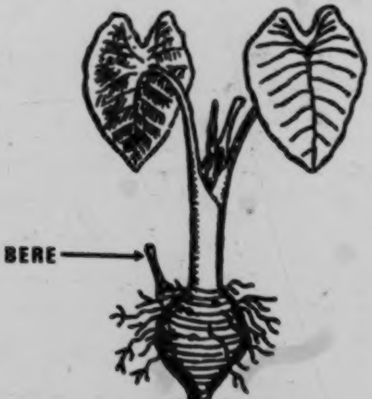


Fig. 7. *Colocasia esculenta* (taro).

bond is based on marriage exchange. Similarly, when married siblings of opposite 602
sex reside in the same village, taro exchanged between their households would 431
tend to strengthen the relationship between a sister and her brother's wife, and 824
between her brother and her husband. Again among the Orokaiva where corporate groups are rather small, the kinship bonds between distant agnates would carry no implication of intimacy. Intimacy could in such cases be maintained only if the kinship bond were strengthened by fairly frequent exchange transactions for which taro would be a most appropriate object of mediation. In all these instances, taro exchanges mediate an extension of intimacy beyond the narrow confines of the corporate group.

So far we have restricted our discussion of exchange to the mediation of dyadic relations between partners. But if the Orokaiva exchange system is to solve the problem of the smallness of corporate groups, dyadic relations alone would clearly be of limited utility. As evidence presented in this chapter will show, the most intimate relationships are mediated by rather frequent gifts of taro, as well as a variety of other kinds of social interaction. There is a limit to the number of such relationships that any individual can maintain. The maintenance of such intimacy between a cluster of three households would require each household to carry on very frequent exchange with two others. While this is manageable, it could not be extended to the whole of a village such as Sivepe, with twenty-two exchanging households. Nobody can maintain twenty-one intimate associations all at the same time.

This kind of problem may be attacked by the setting up of a variety of 571
corporate groupings on a basis other than kinship, and the study of such 824
groupings is one of the main subjects of political anthropology. The Orokaiva, 431
however, do not have corporate groupings of this type (no secret societies, no
age sets, no economic institutions whereby 'big men' can achieve clear 437
ascendancy over others). Instead, Orokaiva developed a principle of cohesion which I would call the circuit of mediation. The simplest way in which twenty-two households can be joined in intimate association by a circuit of mediation would be if there were intimacy between households 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4, and so on, the chain being closed by an intimate association between households 22 and 1. Households 1 and 3 might not maintain an intimate association, but they would share intimacy with 2 and this would serve to mediate relationships between them. In theory such circuits could be unlimited in length, though the system would be rather cumbersome and expensive if extended too far.

I shall show in this chapter that the Sivepe taro exchange system presents a striking instance of such a circuit of mediation. The demonstration of this point unfortunately requires some painstaking and perhaps unduly tedious statistical analysis, which is to be presented as a separate paper elsewhere; only the basic argument is set out here.

The analysis of taro exchanges provides us with a model of the Orokaiva 121
exchange system. We may not, of course, assume *a priori* that a model applicable to taro exchanges is applicable to anything else. That needs to be established empirically. If the culture is fairly homogeneous and the empirical data are reasonably full, the model ought to be confirmable in other areas such as marriage rules and the political system. If such confirmation is forthcoming, our

nature, partly a human nature, and these aspects are only partly differentiated. 824
He ravages taro lying in the *gaga* in the manner of a wild pig. The wild taro *bere* 773
planted by the woman in the beginning of the myth are fitly equated with his
'children' because Totoima's realm is the bush; bush taro are the children he 244
might be expected to engender. The garden, however, is his wife's realm. It is she 539
who nurses taro to maturity and who nurtures her family. She too has a dual
nature, as she nurtures Totoima and also conspires to kill him. This second
aspect is found in numerous myths concerning Totoima's wife. In the present
version not only the wife but also the daughter is involved in conspiracy.

The taro are her children, and it is right that Totoima should eat them. She feeds them to him. However, she places restrictions on Totoima's appetite. The *bere* of the domestic taro must be preserved for planting. Hence it is the woman's duty to withhold these from her husband. Woman's two aspects – nurture and domestication – are crucial in the ritual statements made through gifts of taro.

Here we encounter again the dichotomy in sex roles to which I referred in the 562
previous chapter. The male tends to be concerned with the killing of enemies
and wild animals, the driving out of ghosts, the felling of bush before a garden 462
can be made. On the other hand, the female is identified with the cultivation of 824
taro. The *dema* of the taro are regularly called upon in drum songs performed at [533]
harvest time:

Bako jape teijo jape bako [539]
Punduga kovari terijo jape bako, etc.

'Taro-being, ancestress, come to our aid, ancestress, taro-being; with the *punduga* harvesting help us, ancestress, taro-being', etc., where *punduga* is a variety of taro and the song continues with lines similar to the second one, invoking a great number of taro varieties, one after the other.

Taro, clearly, is a feminine plant. The first taro plant is found by a married 824
woman in several myths I have recorded, though in others it was found by a 773
brother and sister travelling together. One may well ask why it is, if taro is a
feminine plant, that in this myth (and in others) we find its origin associated
with two siblings of opposite sex (*du*), and why in particular it was the male
sibling who was lying in the *gaga* while the female one was in the field. Those
who like to impute laziness to the Orokaiva male may say that this scene is only
too typical, but one cannot seriously believe this myth to indulge in caricature.
In my explanation I shall anticipate an argument developed at greater length in
Chapter VIII. It is a male sex role to clear a garden and give it to a woman; it is a [462]
female sex role to grow taro and give it to a man. These gifts are complementary [437]
and mediate the relationship between man and woman. The Orokaiva will
classify a garden as a feminine thing 'because it is given to the woman' and a
harvested taro as a masculine thing 'because it is given to the man'. This is why
the taro lying in the *gaga* was a male sibling.

Evidence presented in the course of this chapter will show that Orokaiva 824
regard taro as having a dual nature: while in the earth, they are identified with
the woman who nurtures them and who regards them and nurses them as her
children. When harvested they are victims to be killed, cut up and cooked and
finally eaten. In this role of victims they are male, because the male is the killer

household to other households with which the bonds were intimate. Their 824
function was to maintain existing social relationships. Nobody maintained 431
relations of this sort with every household in the village; in the twenty-eight days
for which I kept tally, the number of partnerships of individual households 621
varied from three to fourteen out of a total of twenty-two households surveyed. 437
This means that the households with the smallest networks had only three
exchange partners during the survey period, out of a possible total of
twenty-one, and the households with the largest network still failed to exchange
with seven of the available households. The average number of exchange partners
for the sample was 8.5. If the survey period had been longer, no doubt this
average would have been higher, but even when critical events occurred (there
was one death and one important visitor in the survey period) food
contributions were not sent by *all* households, nor even by all households
belonging to the same clan. Each household had its own private network, partly
determined by close consanguineal and affinal ties but partly also by
idiosyncratic considerations.

Taro gifts made to establish new relationships were of a different kind. In 824
speaking of a 'new' relationship, I do not mean only those cases where gifts were
made to persons hitherto unknown. Such cases were rare indeed. It may be 431
justified, however, to speak of 'new' relationships when the nature of a 437
relationship was changed dramatically, made significantly more intimate, as the
result of a ceremony where gifts were made. Such a change would occur when [728]
one village invited another to a feast, thus terminating old hostilities and placing
the relationship on a new footing. Similarly, a dramatic change in relationship [585]
would occur as the result of a wedding ceremony when two kinship groups,
whatever their previous relation, would begin to regard each other as affines. On
a smaller scale, some relationships are intimate only at the time of actual
contact. An example would be guest friendships and trading partnerships. Here
the intimacy has to be re-established on every one of the infrequent occasions
when one partner visits the other. Even if there has been no conflict whatever, [572]
Orokaiva always ritually assume that a long-absent friend has become a stranger
and the relationship must be restored. As far as I know, Orokaiva do not carry
this notion as far as the Maori, who greet a long-absent friend as though they
were still heavily in mourning for his death.

Taro is always given by the hosts when such a 'new' relationship is 824
established. But in such cases the taro is uncooked, and still has the top attached 431
to it. I was told that taro, in that form, still contained a spirit and was 'alive'.
The ceremonial way of giving such taro is in the form of a pyramid-like mound, [774]
the tubers facing outwards, the tops facing inwards. On the top of the mound,
a few taro are placed with the tops facing upwards. The mounds should be built
on a *gaga*. It will be noticed that the position of the taro on the *gaga* is precisely
the same as the position in which Totoima's son lay ('with his chest turned
upwards') when his father attacked him.

If we compare this type of gift with the type considered previously, we notice
several reversals of the symbolism:

lies neither in communion nor in expiation, as they are essentially magical devices 431 to bring about a transformation in social relations with a partner.[1] 825

While this partner may on occasion be a close kinsman who is given a feast for 571 some special reason, he often has a rather distant position in the exchange network of the donor, with whom commensality occurs only on rare occasions. 789 Not only do feasts tend to extend in this way the range of individual social networks but they are especially apt to extend the range of social relations 574 existing between villages. Feasts are often given by one village to another, thus 571 leading to the establishment of at least one partnership between each household 628 of the host village and each household of the guest village.

The explanation of pig sacrifices requires an elaboration of my model of 182 exchange. The models used so far may be called *transactional*. One may distinguish between positive transactional cycles (in which the two sides 431 exchange benefits mediated by gifts) and negative transactional cycles (in which 437 the two sides exchange sanctions mediated by penalties). In addition one may construct *temporal* cycles, which may show the alternation between friendship and anger, offence and repentance, mortification and forgiveness. A violation of the exchange code will shift a relationship from a positive into a negative transactional cycle, while a reconciliation feast will restore positive reciprocity. The value of pig sacrifices lies in their power to set a relationship upon a course [182] of positive exchanges where, previous to the sacrifice, the two sides were [574] engaged in a mutually injurious exchange of sanctions.

This implies an assumption about the nature of social relations: namely that 628 they cannot be described as intrinsically positive or negative. One cannot divide the Orokaiva social universe into concentric circles distinguishing between permanently friendly and permanently hostile groups. The most one may do (if one has data over a sufficient period) is to show that in the association between villages A and B the cycles of negative reciprocity have been relatively short while between villages A and C they have been relatively long. In this sense one may call B a 'friendly' and C a 'hostile' village, and it may be expected that inter-village feasts, in which pig sacrifices figure, will be more frequent between A and B than between A and C.

This conceptualisation is not based on my own private theory of sociality, 829 but on the Orokaiva expressed belief that strife is a 'natural', i.e. *dema* established consequence of social relations. This belief implies that any relationship will tend to alternate between positive and negative cycles, primary kin relationships not excepted. In *original time*, we find only positive cycles of reciprocity; strife periodically engenders negative cycles, while pig sacrifices lead to the periodic restoration of positive reciprocity.

2. *The Wild Pig: Marauder*

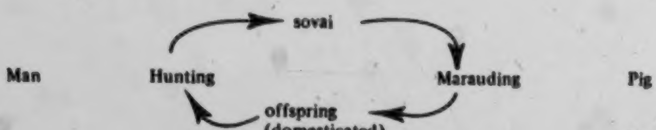
To the Orokaiva the wild pig is above all a troublesome enemy, as it attacks taro 825 crops in gardens and is liable to kill an unwary hunter. It lives in the jungle where it is believed that ghosts (*sovai*) may enter its body. A pig inhabited by a [775] *sovai* is especially dangerous and harmful to man. The ontology of the pig is 773 explained in a series of myths of which the following, recorded by Williams, 539 states its message most clearly: 825

231 distinguishes wild pigs from domestic ones. Once the spirits have been effectively
825 expelled, the piglet *thereby* becomes domesticated. This means that it obeys the
[789] calls of its mother. It learns to forage in disused gardens but keeps away from
growing taro. The piglet will not stray too far into the bush but comes home
[775] every night to be fed, and goes to sleep under the house.

Yet some danger of *sovai* contamination always remains. It may happen that a village pig stays away in the bush and does not return when its mother calls. The mother keeps on calling it from day to day, still hoping that it will return, but after a fortnight or a month it is accepted that the pig has gone wild. Or else it does return when the mother calls but returns to the bush as soon as it is fed.
[775] In all such cases people say that the spirits took the pig away and did not send it back.

These facts suggest an exchange cycle arising out of the following four notions: (1) A man turns into a *sovai* upon death. (2) *Sovai* entering pigs maraud gardens and attack humans. (3) A pig is domesticated by the driving out of the *sovai*. (4) Meat from the domesticated pig provides man with the *ivo* (strength) he needs for hunting pig. (This *ivo* makes man a dangerous *sovai* after death.) This cycle may be expressed as follows:

MODEL 22



431 Live domesticated pigs are not used a great deal for the mediation of social
231 exchange. Certainly the rearing of pigs enters widely into the exchange of
prestations between the sexes, for it is a task women customarily perform for
[462] close kinsmen (husbands, brothers, sons). In addition it is not infrequent for
piglets to be given to relatives and friends from different villages whose wives
then rear them 'for the owner'. Salisbury (1962) noted a similar custom among
437 the Siane, but here the purpose was somewhat different. The Siane have feasts
at which 150–200 pigs are slaughtered. Here the recalling of lent pigs is an
231 essential prerequisite for the holding of a feast and, indeed, feasts on this scale
[171] would be impossible unless the task of rearing was distributed among several
villages. Orokaiva feasts involve far fewer pigs (seven, at a Hohorita feast, seemed normal). Admittedly, lending pigs for rearing does have an obvious economic advantage, similar to the one suggested by Salisbury: once the owner has lent a piglet to a man from another village, he finds it easier to resist demands that will be made from time to time by relatives who 'urgently' need a pig for purposes too compelling to ignore.

Basically, however, this institution is just another way of mediating social exchange. By lending a man a piglet one starts a partnership. The partner does not usually return the pig he has reared but instead gives a piglet which will in turn be reared by the original donor. One might say that the offspring of the donated pig returns to its 'mother's' village. In this way the institution of

pig-lending becomes a simulation, on a minor scale, of the customs of marriage 437
exchange, where a reciprocating pair of groups send back and forth a female 231
marriage partner at intervals of one generation.

This assimilation of domesticated pigs to human members of exchanging 231
social groups is emphasised by much customary behaviour towards these pigs. 825
This behaviour goes beyond co-residence in the same house and the use of
kinship terms of reference, but extends to strict taboos of wide range prohibiting 602
the eating of domestic pigs by their rearers. 262

4. *Wild Pigs as Victims*

Williams (1930) describes in detail the techniques that are, or were, used for the 224
hunting of pigs: the use of spears, pig-traps, and the collective burning of *kunai* 825
grass to drive pigs towards their pursuers. I myself witnessed such a burn, in
which three villages participated as owners of the burnt-over land (Inonda, Urio, [411]
Musou) as well as some hunters from Ajoro. The myths explaining the origin of [773]
the various techniques of hunting and of cooking the meat do not enlighten us
greatly in the study of exchange, except to confirm a point already made in a
previous chapter: the *dema* figure who is remembered as having 'given' a certain
technique to mankind, is invariably described in the myth as the first *victim* of
that technique. The ritual of killing is a very simple one: it consists in calling out [614]
one's clan name before striking the fatal blow. This is supposed to give the
hunter the strength (*ivo*) he needs in order to kill. Both killer and victim are thus
symbolically identified with a primal ancestor.

The killer of a wild pig is not bound by the same ritual restrictions as the [262]
killer of either a man or a domestic pig. Williams states that he found no rule
prohibiting a man from eating his personal quarry. Nonetheless, I found that in
practice the meat of the wild pig virtually always serves some purpose of
exchange-sale, barter or the mediating of social relations. The two wild pigs
killed by Inonda men during the hunt to which I have already referred will serve
as an example.

Killer A presented his pig to his mother's brother who lives in Ajoro. Killer B 224
presented his quarry to killer A, who is B's brother's wife's brother. A 825
distributed most of the joints to men and women from Inonda (including B),
and to two Ajoro men who had returned from the hunt empty-handed, but kept 571
one joint. A's mother's brother kept part of the animal he had been given but
distributed the rest of it to his Inonda relatives, including A., as well as several
affines. In the end everyone in Inonda had received some meat, but sometimes
this meat had gone through several hands. For instance, A's sister did not receive
meat from the animal her brother had killed, but from the animal her brother
received as a present. Her brother gave several joints to B and it was from one of
these joints A's sister was able to eat, because B gave it to his own brother who
was A's sister's husband.

After this set of circuitous transactions the fires were lit. I noticed that only [252]
some of the meat was boiled but that most of it was smoked for later use. In fact
only a fraction of the two slaughtered pigs was eaten that night. The smoked [251]
meat was kept for a variety of transactions. In line with the modern trend, these [431]
included sale at the market, but there were also traditional prestations, e.g. a gift
[437]

224 825 571 to a man who had lent an ornament for a recent ceremony. I was told that meat is sometimes kept for 'months' so it can be offered at a feast or used to discharge an obligation. The housewife smokes the meat over the fire every day so that, after a while, it becomes very 'strong'; the 'stronger' it is, the better.

[251] [431] [437] While the economic motivation in the final disposal of the joints is plain enough, it is less easy to understand the elaborate exchanges immediately following the killing. There are no taboos that could explain why these exchanges were made. One might, of course, account for the whole series of gifts in the same way as I accounted for the taro gifts made between close associates: as a means of maintaining a quasi-commensal kind of social relationship. But such an explanation obscures an important difference between gifts of taro and pig meat, namely that gift taro is usually only a small part of the harvest, whereas it appears to be regular practice (even though not supported by taboo) to give
[262] away *all* the meat of a pig one has killed. There is a strong, empirically demonstrated, preference for eating pork that has been *given* rather than pork that has been personally killed.

262 The essential difference between taro and pork, as perceived by the Orokaiva, has already been discussed in a previous chapter. The difference is that taro is regarded as a staple food to keep men alive, whereas pork is regarded as a food of special power enabling men to succeed in tasks of great difficulty, in which
[778] success is always precarious. Pork has a special power or *ivo*. The reality of this belief is obvious from field observation. Meat-eating arouses in the Orokaiva a mood of extraordinary festivity and gaiety. After meat, he shows an exuberance and excitement Westerners display only when they have drunk a good deal or are 'turned on' by mild drugs. While one can think of biochemical causes for the Orokaiva behaviour, they explain this excitement themselves by referring to the *ivo* or spiritual qualities of meat.

778 262 224 431 773 These beliefs do not, in themselves, explain why it is considered better for meat to be given rather than consumed by the killer. They do, however, carry us back to the myth – already considered in detail – by which Orokaiva explain the origin of human *ivo*. *Ivo* was personified in Pig-man Totoima until his son slew him and cut his body into pieces. These joints, shared out among men, made the people multiply so that men are now spread throughout the world. The important point to note in this myth is that *ivo* did not come from the mere eating of the meat, but from the sharing out, following by the eating. If *ivo* is to be attained, it has to be through the re-enactment of the myth, which means not only the eating but also the sharing out. This sharing out is always done by cutting a pig into the very same joints as those into which the dead Totoima was dissected. Hence pork – whether derived from a wild or a domesticated pig – is magically most effective if it is a gift.

5. *Domesticated Pig as Victim*

231 825 Pig meat provided at the more important ceremonies of the Orokaiva comes far more frequently from domesticated than from wild pig. One reason for this is obviously practical: the more important ceremonies require very intricate planning in many spheres. The meat supply, which is a crucial requirement for such ceremonies, cannot be left to chance, though wild pork can usually serve to

add lustre to a feast or to economise on domestic pig. Informants told me that 231
for most ceremonial purposes, wild and domestic pig are interchangeable. In 825
general, therefore, one may say that pigs are reared in order to provide a bigger
and more dependable supply of pork. I was unable to discover any instance of a
rule requiring *only* wild pig to be used for any kind of ceremony and declaring
domesticated pig to be unsuitable. On the other hand certain ceremonial gifts of [583]
pigs are made between affines, where a rule stipulates that the pig *must* have
been reared by a particular person – the bridegroom's sister or the bride's
mother. Such instances have to be carefully studied, as they indicate that the
value of the meat transferred in the transaction may sometimes be derived partly
from the labour expended by particular persons who reared the animals.

We have already pointed out that some rudimentary sacrificial notions enter 574
into a hunter's action towards his quarry, but it is only the killing of domestic 782
pigs that can be described as *sacrifice* in the full conventional sense of the term.
Williams (1930: 61) applies this term to the slaughter of pigs but provides no
analysis of the sacrificial process. Such analysis is not altogether straightforward,
as the anthropological study of sacrifice has hitherto remained confined to the
application of two models: one derived from Robertson Smith after the analogy
of Christian *communion*, and the other derived from Mauss, (1968: 193–307)
whose chief inspiration seems to have been the doctrine of *piaculum* among the
Brāhmanas (viz. Mauss 1968: 352–4). The wide applicability of Robertson
Smith's model has recently been well argued by Stanner (1960–3) and Bellah
(1964), while Mauss' model has been enshrined by such brilliant ethnographic
applications as Evans-Pritchard's study of *Nuer Religion* (1956).

These two models have a great deal in common, but differ in final destination
of the victim and the postulated aim of the sacrifice. As Evans-Pritchard has
pointed out (1956: 275), the aim may be to keep the god away or get rid of him
(as in Nuer piacular sacrifice), or to establish union or fellowship with him (as in
Christian communion, and in Australian *intichiuma*).

Neither model appears to be very appropriate to Orokaiva sacrifice, as it is
not clear at all just who the god is to whom the sacrifice is being made. The only [776]
divine agency that seems to appear in pig sacrifices, including the major feasts,
are spirits, loosely described as belonging to the 'ancestors'. These do not appear
to be specific personalised ancestors but seem to be identified with the demigod,
or *dema* who instituted the feast, as well as with other *dema* who introduced the
various products used at the feast as gifts, ornaments and the like, as well as with
clan and lineage ancestors who are responsible for the well-being of the land. A
big feast seems to involve the whole pantheon. If this were all, one could classify
Orokaiva sacrifice as aiming definitely at communion, as the ritual preceding the
feast and during the feast quite clearly has the effect of drawing the divine
beings down into the village, and making them enter the persons of the
celebrants who behave as though they are possessed by these spirits.

But in addition one must often regard the sacrifices as being made, in a very [431]
real sense, to the guests. There are of course pig sacrifices where communion [437]
with the god is the only or predominant purpose. For instance, it is customary
to sacrifice a pig when new taro fields are prepared for planting and the flesh is
shared between the men of the local clan group. Here the purpose is no doubt to
bring about an identification of the men with the original ancestor who first

574 successfully cultivated that land, and at the same time no doubt with *dema*
782 figures who instituted agriculture. But most sacrifices have to do with social
relations that are either being entered into or that are being restored after a
431 period of hostility. In all such cases the sacrificed pig serves as a gift object to
437 the persons whose friendship is being sought. These persons may be clansmen,
uterine kin, affines, bond-friends, trading partners, or persons who have rendered
[572] important ritual services.

An exhaustive list of examples of such sacrifices, very often involving only
578 one pig and a rather minor ceremony, cannot be given. If a person has broken
431 off social relations with a close relative in anger, by showing this relative his
plant emblem, then relations can be restored only if the angry man is persuaded
571 to 'throw his plant emblem away'. If he does this, the person to whom the plant
825 emblem has been shown will sacrifice a pig. Again, if a man feels that he has
[824] neglected a fellow clansman for an unduly long time, he will end the
estrangement by offering up a pig. A pig may be sacrificed to mark any
reconciliation after a quarrel. The sacrificer in such a case appears to admit his
[754] own guilt and to restore a wrong done to the other person. Very often such a
reconciliation follows a misfortune attributed to sorcery. The medicine man will determine, if the sufferer does not already know, who has caused the sorcery to be performed. It is then considered highly important to arrange a reconciliation with the person responsible for the sorcery. This person is not infrequently a close relative, such as a father's sister or mother's sister. The sufferer will offer up a pig if the dangerous relative is willing to forgive and forget. Sacrifices are also required when a person has violated a taboo, e.g. quarrelled in the presence of a cross-cousin or affine. In all such cases a feast will be held at which the wronged person receives the sacrificial beast.

The same pattern may be found in the larger ceremonies. I shall show in a later chapter that the various prestations rendered between affines can be viewed as propitiatory gifts made to allay anger at the wrong done by the other party. This is certainly true for the gifts made on various occasions by the husband, the
628 husband's sister, etc. to the wife's relatives. Feasts given on the occasion of
728 peace-making, or on other occasions where whole villages are invited can likewise
be shown to have as their prime purpose the ending of strife. In all such cases the
574 sacrifice of pigs is preliminary to their utilisation for the mediation of social
exchange.

This pattern does not appear quite consistent with the communion model of sacrifice. Not only is there no rule that the offerers of the sacrifice should eat of the victim; on the contrary, we shall see that they are strictly forbidden to eat of it. The guests carry all the meat away with them and distribute it among their own group. One almost feels that the expiatory model might be applicable: the offerers of the sacrifice define themselves as offenders, they expiate their wrong-doing by sacrifice, the flesh of the victim becomes taboo to them.

782 The contradiction disappears if we regard communion with the god not
purely as the ultimate end of sacrifice but also (and simultaneously) as the
571 means to the mediation of a social relationship. I am suggesting that the
574 Orokaiva believe that the killing and offering of a pig is not *in itself* sufficient to
431 initiate or restore a social relationship: it is also necessary to make the offering
in a properly ritual manner. The ritual involves the establishment of communion

The sacrifice undoubtedly transforms the nature of the victim, as the meat, after 796
the analogy of the body of Totoima, is divided among all the guests, who will 574
'greatly multiply' by the *ivo* the meat confers after this simple sacrament.
After the sacrifice the group who offered it becomes irrevocably separated 782
from the victim. The composition of the group to whom consumption of the
sacrificed pig is forbidden is as follows: the pig's 'mother' and 'father', their [825]
siblings, their parents, their parents' siblings, and their children. Infringement of [784]
the taboo is said to lead to the death of one of the sons of the pig's 'mother'. I [842]
was told that the taboo lapses once a woman's daughters have themselves given
birth to children. We may safely deduce from this last limitation of the range of
the taboo that it serves to protect the woman's power of child-bearing. The
taboo does not reach to the third generation: it does not include the
grandparents of the pig-rearers. Nor does it include parallel or cross-cousins.
These rules emphasise the position of the pig as a member of the family group. [602]
The sacrificer of a pig is identified with Totoima precisely in that both killed
their own children.

The membership of host and guest groups is defined mainly by residence: one 574
village invites another. It also occurs, in multi-clan villages, that the two groups
comprise only some of the local clan groups of the host and guest village. I did 614
not note cases of two-clan villages where this happened, but it does occur in 621
four-clan villages such as Hohorita and Sasembata. Some close relatives of the [628]
hosts, though not resident in the host village, may decide to attend and may
make a food contribution. The guest group that is invited usually matches the
host group approximately in strength. If there is a wide discrepancy in numbers
there is a tendency for several closely-linked villages to join together as hosts or
to be invited together as guests.

Relationships between hosts and guests are cultivated on both the collective 574
and the family level. The Orokaiva have no large houses for guests, so that each
family of guests is accommodated with a family of hosts. If two villages have 628
never feasted together partnerships are arranged at a preliminary meeting, always 437
making allowance for previously existing relationships. Once partnerships are
established they become a standing reciprocal arrangement, inherited by the
children of the original partners. A good part of the planning of a feast consists
of amassing suitable gifts to be made to one's visiting partner. It is he who must,
above all, be impressed by his host and overwhelmed with generosity. On the [789]
collective level, guests are expected to dance for their hosts and to carry out
rain-making and crop-promoting rituals.

When I asked why the help of guest sorcerers was necessary to ensure increase
of the food supply, I was told that if taro grows poorly in a garden it is assumed [789]
that an enemy is using *puripuri* (a form of magic) against this garden, thus [244]
stopping the taro from flourishing. When a whole village has poor results, it is
believed that someone has used medicine against *all* the gardens. According to
his reasoning, the task of the friendly magicians at a feast is to remove their
own previous black magic from the gardens. As shown in previous chapters, the
assumption is always that parties meeting at a feast have been living in something
ike imperfect harmony. This implies that there may have been sorcery.

The harvest feast is, therefore, an occasion when the community acts as a 574
orporate group to meet a magical danger which transcends the individual. A 621
[789]

574 621 [789] [754] crop failure at Hohorita would be explained as resulting from sorcery inflicted upon the people collectively by a sorcerer from one of the traditionally hostile villages near which the Sangara have been forced to live since the eruption. The sickness of a Sivepe woman resident in Togahou would be ascribed to an unknown Togahou sorcerer in whom the old anger against Sivepe still rankled. It might have been almost anyone. Both these types of trouble were met by the collective catharsis of a feast, as everybody had been involved in the wars that caused the hostility.

574 628 ● 437 572 Yet it is clear, from the evidence presented here, that a feast does not serve to set up warm and affective relationships between collectivities: the host and guest communities, as such, do not actually eat together or converse with each other closely. Strictly, they do not even sacrifice to each other. Certainly, some significant bonds are established, but these are entirely between the sets of individual partners. It is they who sacrifice, offer hospitality and make opulent gifts to each other. It is they who come to know each other in the intimacy of their homes. In some cases the host has never met his guest before the feast was planned. In other cases, host and guest are kinsmen or traditional guest-friends. A partnership which starts at a feast may be ephemeral but if the partners feel attracted towards each other, it may be perpetuated and even become a hereditary guest-friendship. Moreover, feasts may generate love affairs and may make strangers into affines.

It is in the individual friendships established in the host and guest villages that we find the best hope of future peace. Though strife between individuals is always likely to recur, it is the inter-village friendship links that may prevent this strife from spreading and becoming collective. Any explanation of Orokaiva pig sacrifice has to take account of the fact that many of the vital transactions, sacred as well as secular, are between individuals, not collectivities. The rites give a good deal of evidence for both communion and expiation, but their concrete end product is a set of dyadic relationships restored or established between individuals and their households. Certainly religious ideas enter into the transaction between the offerer and the beneficiary of the sacrifice, but these ideas serve principally to give the act of sacrifice the deep significance that is attached to the human bond: the sacrificer is possessed by his ancestor as he kills his own pig-child. This is powerful magic indeed with which to obligate the partner who receives the flesh of the victim.

7. *A Model of Pig Sacrifice*

574 628 778 While the evidence presented above is consistent with model 25,[A] that model does not account for all the facts under consideration. If we take a synchronic view of the transaction between host and guest, it is clear that both gain *ivo* from the feast. The guest gains *ivo* as he distributes the pig meat he has received to members of his family and perhaps some other members of his local group. The host gains *ivo* as the deleterious influences that previously caused disease, crop failure, etc. have been dispelled. We do not, however, obtain any explanation from the model as to why the pig sacrifice was a necessary preliminary to the obtaining of *ivo*.

A [See Category 574, p. 148—Analyst]

CHAPTER VIII

COCONUT AND BETELNUT

1. *Theoretical Intermezzo*

We have discussed throughout this work the belief that crises in social relations 571
are resolved by magic. In the last chapter we showed explicitly that this is the
view expressed in the Orokaiva folk model of exchange (model 25).A There are 578
two implications in this folk model: that magical power (*ivo*) is required to 778
establish social relations and that social relations have the effect of generating
ivo for those who establish them. The objection that may be advanced against 121
this approach is its subjectivity. One may call it a phenomenological approach, as it is based on *ego*'s experience of *alter*'s world as transcendant (see Schutz 1967: 312–29). One may also call it the approach of Marcel Mauss (1966), who explained exchange by a magical construction he called *hau*. It may be argued that it has some resemblance with Sartre's philosophy (1960), where the opposition between *ego* and *alter* is transcended by a 'dialectical process' or 'praxis'. Here again no interdependence of *ego* and *alter* is deemed to exist prior to a course of action inaugurated by *ego* and serving to transcend the opposition.

Against all these theories, Lévi-Strauss has argued that exchange is logically prior to giving, receiving and giving in return. In his theory, unconscious mental structures not only determine that man should order his universe by means of systems of binary oppositions, but also that these oppositions should be transcended by syntheses. Exchange, and any form of communication, is a synthesis where things are perceived simultaneously from the viewpoint of self and other and destined by nature to pass from the one to the other. The situation that they *belong to* the one or the other arises out of initial relational characteristics (Lévi-Strauss 1966: xlvi).

The evidence quoted for these unconscious mental structures is mainly 431
linguistic: the Papuans and Melanesians have only one word for sale and 437
purchase, lending and borrowing, which shows that contradictions between these
terms must be illusory. If we survey the Orokaiva data reported in previous [192]
chapters, we notice that in general objects of mediation are similarly 'destined by nature' to pass from one partner to another. Meat, for instance, is magically effective only or predominantly if it is received as a gift. One may say that pigs are a family's gift-children: they are part of the family but it is their destiny to be given away. From birth, they may be said to 'belong' to some exchange partner. In fact, in my whole discussion on mediation, I stressed that the donor must be identified with the object of mediation and that, for the exchange relation to be effective, the recipient should also identify with it. I pointed out

A [See Cat. 571, p. 148—Analyst]

431 437 that such identification could be achieved only if there is a starting mechanism, in the form of a mythical charter, which defines the object as having the magical qualities that will enable it to act as mediator.

121 It must be admitted, however, that this mythical charter is logically prior to the social relation *only in the view of the indigenous culture* and that its logical status is no higher than *hau*, *mana*, *ivo* or any other mystical concept of the type Lévi-Strauss rejects as 'verbose phenomenology'. How can we meet this criticism? If we are to follow Lévi-Strauss' prescription, we have to turn to the largely unconscious categories of Orokaiva 'symbolic thought', i.e. the basic binary oppositions discovered in the culture by structural analysis. We have already, from the preceding chapters, some idea what the basic Orokaiva oppositions would be. We have noticed, especially, the importance of the male and female principle: most other binary oppositions we have found are related to this. The bush is classified as belonging to the male, the garden to the female; the wild pig to the male, taro to the female. Gifts of raw food are male, of cooked food female. Killing is the province of the male, nurture of the female.

Now such oppositions belong to 'symbolic thought', as Lévi-Strauss uses the term, precisely because of the kind of evidence I have brought forward in preceding chapters: it is the symbolic exchange relations holding between male and female, bush and garden, pig and taro, etc., that give them the status of binary oppositions in the structural analysis of Orokaiva culture. The difference between Lévi-Strauss' approach and my own does not lie so much in his and my use of binary oppositions as in my use of an exchange model in which the magical aspect of mediation is emphasised. For instance, my model 22 contains two binary oppositions: Man as Hunter/Pig as Marauder; and *Sovai*/Domesticated Pig. Both of these could, I think, be accommodated as part of a 'structural analysis' of Orokaiva culture. When I connect these two binary oppositions with arrows showing an exchange transaction distinguishing partners and objects of exchange and elements of mediation, I am introducing a 'subjectivist' element which is alien to structural analysis. I am showing a concern for the study of transactions, dialectical process, praxis, or perhaps Mauss' concept of *hau*. From a structuralist viewpoint, my arrows are entirely unnecessary as the exchange process is a prior condition of binary oppositions and has no place on the level of the model except as a logical operator (usually the symbol: /).

Now one problem with structural analysis is always at what point one should stop. Certainly analysis may reveal a great deal about the workings of symbolism in culture as it reduces social relations to exchange, exchange to symbolic thought and finally, in Lévi-Strauss' *Mythologiques* (1964, 1966, 1968) symbolic thought to computer signals. As Simonis (1968: 311) has wisely pointed out, at the final stage we move from a science of man to the logic of aesthetic perception. I think we should stop at the point most expedient for our own investigation. It is not useful in a study of Orokaiva exchange to carry on the analysis until exchange is reduced to the status of a logical operator. On the other hand, if in the manner of the phenomenologists we 'bracket' the logical priority of exchange, we find ourselves in difficulties when the folk system itself contains the type of dialectical reasoning upon which Lévi-Strauss founds his own theory. This is the problem with which we shall be concerned in the present chapter.

We shall need to consider exchange from two points of view: first, as in the 121
preceding chapters, we may consider it phenomenologically, from the viewpoint
of the transactional polarity of the exchange partners; secondly, we may
consider it from the viewpoint of symbolic thought, as something like the
dialogue between *Yin* and *Yang*, as the product of Orokaiva intelligence
reflecting upon affective experience.[1] It is this second approach which will be
appropriate for much of our discussion about the remarkable Orokaiva myth of
the coconut and the betelnut.

2. *The Minor Foods: Objects of Mediation and Paired Symbols*

Although this chapter will deal mainly with the coconut and betelnut, it will be 824
useful first to set this couple into a wider ecological and cultural context. 772
Coconut and betelnut have been chosen for detailed treatment out of a large
number of minor foods of the Orokaiva, many of which have their special
importance as objects of mediation. An interesting aspect of these minor foods is
that Orokaiva symbolic thought arranges them in couples to which a male/female
opposition is usually ascribed. Very often these plant couples are grown in close [245]
association with one another and it is claimed that they will not prosper unless
they are planted together and that, in their wild state, they are also found [249]
together. The symbolic association of these pairs of plants may be based on any
of a number of shared characteristics: the similar outward appearance of the
fruit, a coincidence in the time of fruiting, a similarity in culinary use, in taste,
in supposed physiological effects of the fruit when eaten. Sometimes the pair of
plants are linked in ritual use and in a common myth.

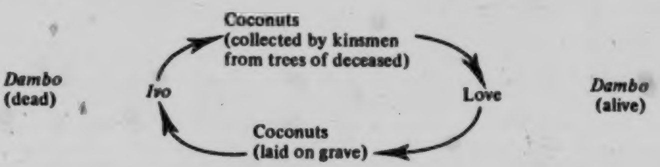
Among examples of this pairing tendency that may be quoted are two varieties of breadfruit, called *ogu* and *eumbu*; two condiments important in initiation ritual: the *puga* nut and the salt vine *hoe*; the yam and a red fruit called *hamesi*. The coconut (*vu*) and betelnut or *areca* (*su*) are similarly a pair of subsidiary foods between which there are important points of resemblance which led to their being paired together, and important points of difference which led one of them to be classified as male and the other as female.

Coconut and betelnut are planted together in villages and also in gardens. [245]
Both nuts are eaten raw, young coconuts for refreshment, *areca* for relaxation, [249]
and both are consumed between meals. Both nuts grow on palms. Both foods [262]
have notable (though different) biochemical effects on those who eat them. [276]
Both foods are standard gifts made to strangers who visit a village, a coconut
being offered as refreshment immediately upon arrival while betelnut is chewed [431]
(along with *hingi* pepper and lime) during the conversation. The two nuts are
also associated in ritual use. At mortuary feasts, the most important gift objects [764]
are large quantities of betelnuts and coconuts harvested from the palms of the
deceased, while dry coconut and betelnut are strewn on graves by affines of the
deceased. Finally, coconut and betelnut are associated in an important myth [773]
which I intend to discuss in detail.

In studying plant couples such as coconut and betelnut two aspects of [437]
exchange need to be considered: first, exchanges between persons in which the
food products appear as objects of mediation and secondly, mythical exchanges
between the male and female plant, where the two plants appear as exchange

of coconut gifts, in a great variety of sometimes quite casual relationships, the 824
most crucial communication occurs in the large-scale, highly structured 778
mortuary feast where we may regard the archetypal exchange situation as 764
occurring between brothers-in-law (*dambo*), one of whom is dead while the other
is alive. The exchange cycle is as follows:

MODEL 28



4. Areca *as Object of Mediation*

Areca, a mildly narcotic fruit, is chewed with lime and pepper (*hingi*) when 276
persons, often from different households, are sitting together to relax and talk.
It is always offered when friendly visitors arrive from other villages. It is chewed
by women as much as by men, though by Waddell's statistics men act more
frequently as donors of *areca* in the exchange network (71 per cent of recorded
cases). *Areca* is the only Sivepe food product of which, by Waddell's statistics,
more than half the disposals are to other than village residents. Table VIII/1 [438]
summarises the number of transactions but does not show that Sivepe is an
exporter of betelnut, while lime is imported. Much of this export is in barter but [437]
sales for money also occur.

When friends from the same village are sitting together betelnut is shared in 276
much the same way as beer in our culture, i.e. people offer nuts to each other 574
but expect to come out approximately even. At visits to another village, it is
more common for the principal visitor to make a bulk donation. The hosts share out betelnut among their guests either by throwing a few nuts to each person or (on more formal occasions) by the principal host presenting the principal visitor with a large bunch, leaving the latter to share them out among his people. The visitors also hand a nut to anyone in the host group who has no nut to chew. The two principals will distribute some of the *areca* they have received to chosen persons within their own group.

Betelnut is treated as a valuable commodity. It is never given away in heaps 276
like ordinary garden crops. Its value is undoubtedly associated with its narcotic 824
properties. At social gatherings its main effect appears to be that it creates a
relaxed and genial atmosphere, breaking down hostility otherwise likely to exist
between groups. Its magical use is so widespread that its supposed effect is hard
to determine from the evidence of medicines. Many medicines consist of *areca* [789]
chewed with some specific purpose, and as such it is applied in hunting magic,
magic for drumming, and magic against a variety of diseases.

In ritual its role is often the same as coconut, e.g. at mortuary feasts. The exchange cycle shown in model 28 applies similarly to betelnut. Yet, just as its

TABLE VIII/1

'ARECA' TRANSACTIONS: SIVEPE AND INONDA

276
438
● 437

The following figures group together transactions involving *areca* nuts and lime used for chewing with *areca*.

(*Source*: Waddell and Krinks, 1968: 180, 210, 218, 237, 265, 270, 272)

	Sivepe		*Inonda*	
	Acquired	*Disposed*	*Acquired*	*Disposed*
Total transactions (lbs.)	124	114	93	39
Distribution (%)				
within village	56%	44%	30%	57%
outside village	44%	56%	70%	43%
Non-monetary transactions (lbs.)	107	100	83?	38?
Monetary transactions (lbs.)	17	15	9.8	1.0
($)	3.70	3.00	2.06	0.20
Donors and recipients by sex: Men	52%	71%	42%	36%
Women	48%	29%	58%	64%

276 biochemical action differs from that of the coconut (narcotic rather than
824 nutritive), so its symbolic significance in magic and ritual also differs. A girl
carries a bunch of betelnut at the ceremony concluding her seclusion after first
menstruation. She also has betelnut to offer to a man at lovers' meetings.

824 The only betelnut myth recorded by Williams (1928: 123) emphasises the
773 nut's aphrodisiac associations. The betel palm had a liaison with a village woman.
Every night it bent over her house to visit her; every morning, as the birds woke,
832 it bent back to stand once more as an immobile palm but left around her house a
litter of small flowers. When the intrigue was discovered, the jealous husband cut
down the palm. The lover cried as he fell: 'Now I am a man no longer but a mere
betel palm; take these nuts and eat them.' This myth resembles the one collected
by myself in that the hero was a male, although the *areca* palm is classified by
Orokaiva as a female plant. The explanation of this remarkable discrepancy will
be one of the main tasks of the present chapter.

824 The symbolic significance of the betelnut is not, however, exhausted by its
role as a catalyst in sexual love. One may call it, more properly, a catalyst in any
276 kind of social exchange. As such, it helps to restore amity between former
832 enemies. Its narcotic action raises the spirits of both opponents to the sphere of
primal time when no strife existed. In sexual love, according to Orokaiva,
[574] feminine sexuality is dangerous, even lethal, to man in certain circumstances, a
notion which is reflected in a number of avoidances woman must practice in
order to avoid polluting and ritually killing a man. In courtship, the woman must
take the initiative; the man is represented as slow and reluctant, precisely

301 ceremonial circumstances, but *hambo* are freely exchanged between partners. All
431 the characteristics already described of such objects of mediation as land, taro
and pigs probably apply equally to *hambo*, though my evidence on this point is
571 far less complete, due to the very large number of magical substances that enter
into the construction of *hambo*. They are not, however, symbols of identity.

On a functional level, one may regard the *otohu* after the analogy of a
301 membership badge to some association or even a credit card. It indicates to
824 others that they can safely carry on transactions with the bearer. On a structural
431 level, the two types of identity symbol – the plant emblem or *hae* and the
otohu – constitute, in combination and in their interrelation, the reality of the
571 entire Orokaiva social system. This system is dominated by two principles: corporate groups bound to a system of rules governing their co-operation and a system of exchange between corporate groups on which they depend for vital benefits. The *hae* symbolises membership of the corporate group whereas the *otohu* symbolises participation in the system of exchange. There are several significant symbolic contrasts: the *hae* is a natural object (usually a plant), never given or lent to anyone, deposited as a sign to members of the corporate group that corporate rights have been used by the depositor, but never openly shown except to signal anger felt towards members of the corporate group and a resolve to break the relationship. In contrast the *otohu* is a cultural object, lent to relatives who are entitled to wear it, but otherwise never deposited or transferred, and always shown conspicuously by the owner when he contemplates transactions outside the corporate group.

While a *hae* is transmitted automatically, the conferring of the *otohu* is an important ceremony that will be discussed in detail in this chapter. This discussion will be followed by a summary of the available evidence on the use of *hambo* (other than *otohu*) as objects of mediation in social exchange.

2. *The Nature of Otohu Ornaments*

301 Most ornaments are acquired by hunting, foraging, barter, purchase or
inheritance. These may be regarded purely as decorations (*di* or *hambo*) and
[437] there are no restrictions on who may make or wear such ornaments, which are freely
disposed of by barter or sale. The *otohu* is not distinguishable from other *hambo*
[237] except on the basis of specific knowledge of local practice. Some families have a
particular shell which is their *otohu*, others may use a particular arrangement of hornbill beaks. Others again may have a special way of decorating armlets of white cuscus (*pauri*). There are many very beautiful and elaborate *hambo* which are not *otohu* and other much simpler ornaments which are *otohu*. Where large shells are *otohu* these are worn by themselves, on the chest or suspended on the side of the owner's betelnut bag. Other *otohu* are added to what would otherwise be an ordinary *hambo*: it is the addition of the *otohu* object which makes a *hambo* into an *otohu*.

In the earliest literature on the *otohu* it was regarded as an 'homicidal emblem'. Beaver (1920) reported that a man-slayer, having undergone some form of purification or exorcism, might at some convenient time receive his *otohu*. He gave two lists of objects that were supposedly so used, one for the coastal and central tribes (eight items) and one for the Wasida and trans-Kumusi

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

CHAPTER X

MARRIAGE

1. *Introduction*

In analysing a system of exchange, our first task is to find the rules governing the 121
objects of mediation. I have not dealt with all objects used by Orokaiva for the 437
mediation of social exchange, but I have given enough examples to show both a
method and a pattern. The effect of the rules is to place constraints upon the 431
exchange partners. Examples of such constraints may be found in each of the five preceding chapters. In making land transfers a man is constrained, in the main, by the love for his sister who wants his land for her children. In the daily ritual of taro gifts, householders are constrained by their quasi-commensal neighbours. Gifts of pig meat are constrained even more severely by a taboo on eating pork reared by oneself or a close relative. The constraint in coconut and betelnut gifts is mainly felt after a death, with affines as preferential recipients. The *otohu* sets up constraints through the moral pledges made at the time of its transfer to the owner.

Each of these constraints compels the individual to make commitments outside the narrow confines of the small agnatic group. Land transfers to the sister, if hereditary, place the sister's son in a position of dual allegiance to the agnatic and uterine group. The taro gift network involves a majority of non-agnates and establishes a chain of non-agnates who become vicariously quasi-commensal. The obligation to keep pigs for mediating critical social relationships ensures that means are available for setting in motion new cycles of positive reciprocity, either with strangers or with former enemies. My analysis of the coconut-betelnut myth shows a commitment on the philosophical plane: it shows that Orokaiva do not view exchange merely as a social and economic expediency, but as expressing, in symbolic thought, the interdependence of the sexes. Finally, the existence of two basic identity symbols (*hae* and *otohu*) implies a profound psychological commitment to the exchange system commensurate in Orokaiva society with the commitment to the corporate group.

I have spoken, in each case, of constraints because there has been a tendency, in the study of New Guinea societies, to overemphasise the degree of freedom. A man does not give his land, his taro, his pigs, or his *otohu* to just anyone. There are very strong pulls in the direction of the corporate group and these are balanced by very strong pulls in the direction of the exchange system. Nor is it correct to assume that the former are determined by structural rules whereas the latter are determined by economic interest. A study of the objects of mediation has already shown that there are rules which make commitment to the exchange system either obligatory or preferential. Yet all the evidence brought forward so

431 far has presented this exchange system as a set of individual, though
437 interconnected, networks.

121 If our analysis cannot go beyond the identification and description of these networks, we shall clearly have failed to establish exchange as an explanatory principle for the ethnography of the Orokaiva. The success of our enterprise therefore depends on the discovery of some constraints, existing within the exchange system, which are placed upon individuals in virtue of their membership of some corporate group. If such rules exist at all, one may assume that they are most likely to be found in the marriage system.

583 Here we enter somewhat controversial ground. In the introduction to a
121 symposium on marriage in the New Guinea Highlands, Meggitt has recently (1969) asserted that, in that area at least, positive marriage rules do not exist but only what he calls 'contingent preferential arrangements'. If his arguments are accepted, there would be no positive marriage rules among the Orokaiva nor, as far as I can see, anywhere else in the world. His arguments hinge on his use of the terms 'preferential' and 'prescriptive', but even if we revert to the definitions given for these terms by Lévi-Strauss (1967: xvii–xxiii) a very careful and detailed investigation is required in order to determine whether or not the Orokaiva have any preferential rules of marriage and exogamy.

It may be best to start with Lévi-Strauss' own discussions regarding the problems of Melanesian marriage rules. When he wrote *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* (1949), the ethnographic data from which a general model for the Melanesian area could have been securely constructed were lacking. Nonetheless Lévi-Strauss wrote a brief passage on this subject and ventured a bold hypothesis. The hypothesis seemed especially bold because at that time there was only one ethnography that could be quoted to support it, a description by F. E. Williams of the apparently aberrant kinship system of the Koriari (1932). I think nonetheless that his hypothesis is a most useful starting point for the analysis of Melanesian systems:

> *La Nouvelle-Guinée, et les régions avoisinantes, présentent, à un degré exceptionnel, un phénomène que Williams a decrit sous le nom d' "affiliation sexuelle", c'est-à-dire une différentiation de statut entre le frère et la sœur, l'un suivant la ligne paternelle et l'autre la ligne maternelle. Il est impossible d'interpréter ce phénomène en fonction de l'échange restreint: mais il devient très clair quand on l'envisage sous l'échange généralisé, puisqu'en mariage matrilatéral comme en mariage patrilatéral, le frère et la sœur suivent des destins différents. L'étude des phénomènes d'affiliation sexuelle ... permet donc de définir, à travers tout le monde mélanésien, une sorte de faille de l'échange généralisé ... Toute l'aire orientale, "océano-américaine", comme on peut le nommer, forme donc une sorte de théâtre, où se rencontrent échange restreint et échange généralisé, tantôt pour s'opposer, et tantôt pour se combiner* (1949: reprinted 1967: 534–5).

Since 1949, Lévi-Strauss has made several further contributions to the analysis of Melanesian societies. In the second edition of *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* he suggested that *la ligne de partage entre les sociétés traditionellement appelées "primitives" et les sociétés dites "civilisées" ne coincide pas avec celle entre "structures élémentaires" et "structures com-*

454 considerable interest was shown, more than $14,000 being subscribed by the Orokaiva in the first six months of operation. However, it appeared during 1964 that this company might experience the same pattern of high initial interest and subsequent disenchantment, accentuated by the failure to pay a dividend at the end of the first year of operation.

439 Cocoa is purchased by both DASF and the Popondetta Cocoa Fermentary Ltd, a company financed entirely by European capital. Plans were being made in 1964 for the ex-servicemen settlers, both indigenous and expatriate, to establish their own fermentary.

366 [438] Weekly markets at Popondetta and Saiho provide outlets for subsistence produce but turnover is small and it is doubtful whether they contribute significantly to many individual incomes.[1] The principal buyer at Saiho is the Public Health Department and at Popondetta, the urban indigenous wage labour force, but in both markets the volume of transactions between subsistence-oriented villagers (primarily involving lime, smoked fish, areca nuts and fresh meat) is increasing.

435 461 [433] The Administration and the Anglican mission buy fresh foods brought to their stations. Since purchase prices were fixed by the Administration at 2c and the mission at 1c per lb,[2] and only a limited quantity is required, there is little incentive for the villager to increase production.

[241] In spite of an increasing commitment to cash cropping, rates of planting and levels of production fluctuate with changing prices and difficulties in selling certain crops. The purchase price for coffee has ranged between 9c and 32c per lb over the period 1955-65 while that for latex has fallen from a peak of [illegible]5c per lb during the Korean War boom to 9c per lb in 196[illegible]. A Citrus Marketing Scheme elicited much local interest in 1956-57 when fruit was purchased at 5c per lb, but it collapsed with the unwillingness of retailers in Port Moresby to handle the produce.

241 (f) Conclusions

[464] In spite of long participation in cash cropping, Orokaiva involvement is not high. Everywhere commercial production remains subsidiary to subsistence, individual cash crop holdings are almost

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[434] [1] Dakeyne 1965:109; Rimoldi 1966:8. Both show, however, that a few individuals earn worthwhile sums from marketing.

[437] [2] Bartered at this rate in salt, tobacco, razor blades and kerosene.

241 pawpaws, bananas, sugar-cane and edible pitpit (*Saccharum edule*). No rotations are practised, but a garden may be gradually extended so that the period between initial planting and final abandonment may be as much as two years; plants such as banana and pawpaw may survive longer.

Taro is liable to be adversely affected by a lack of soil moisture during the dry season, and at this time people resort to sago or breadfruit[1] and foraging.[2] Yams and *Xanthosoma* are also more important at this time, since the former can be stored for many months in specially erected yam houses and the latter can remain in the ground for some time without deteriorating.

[262] In Sivepe, animal protein does not form a regular or quantita-
tively significant part of the diet. The principal source is the
[224] domestic pig, and birds and small marsupials which are hunted. In
Inonda and other areas more low-lying than Sivepe, rivers are larger
[226] and contribute considerable quantities of fish to the diet, while
hunting for pigs, wallabies and other marsupials and birds is also
more profitable than in the more densely settled areas.

Since about 1890, new subsistence crops, including sweet potato,
manioc, *Xanthosoma*, corn, pawpaw, sweet banana, pumpkin and water
melon have been introduced. The Mt Lamington people claim that
yams and sago also are very recent introductions into their area.
[262] The fruits are consumed mainly as refreshments, but the vegetables
have become important in the diet. Sweet potatoes need drier soils
than taro and they mature in about three months. They, with yams
and *Xanthosoma*, are often planted in special gardens, known as
'*sera*',[3] as distinct from the ordinary taro gardens, called '*pure*'.
[824] The sago palm is still uncommon in the Mt Lamington area and not
everyone is skilled in the extraction of the flour. Its leaves
have, however, displaced those of the bamboo as the principal roofing material.

431 (ii) *Exchange*. The most common transactions are the daily ex-
changes of food between the households in any Orokaiva settlement.
437 This may be unprepared, cultivated or forest produce distributed on
return from the gardens or it may be freshly cooked food given at
the time of the evening meal. People also frequently share food,
drink or tobacco while working together or on a journey. They do
not record these exchanges and each household is assumed to be in a
long-term equilibrium with the others.

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[1] Breadfruit is common only in the inland areas.

[824] [2] Particularly for edible leaves and shoots, which are known by the same Orokaiva name (*ina*) as pitpit.

[3] Such gardens are often only roughly cleared and not weeded, thus reducing labour.

431 Other informal transactions involving specific reciprocal obliga-
tions include the exchange of labour services, gifts of animals
457 killed during a hunting expedition and more or less casual trans-
actions with non-residents.

574 Formal exchanges operate on a larger scale than the daily or
casual transactions. Crocombe (1966:71-2) has listed the main
Orokaiva traditional ceremonies ('*pondo*' or feasts) as marking
initiation, marriages, deaths, enhancement of prestige, land
[178] transfers, the re-establishment of peace after a quarrel and the
lifting of prohibitions between a man and his mother-in-law. The
first and last of these have become very rare. In addition to the
traditional ceremonies, parties may now be held to mark Christmas,
Easter, the saint's day of the local church, the opening of a
school or aid post, and birthdays.

A feast provides an opportunity for settling many obligations
which may be quite irrelevant to the ostensible purpose and may not
concern the person or group actually 'giving' the feast. It may
[439] involve one or several villages or descent groups. The feast foods
are almost exclusively village-produced, although small amounts of
[262] storebought goods, particularly rice, tinned fish, bread, tea and
sugar, are becoming more common. Some feasts, such as those marking
the end of minor disputes between individuals, are essentially ex-
changes and in themselves take little time; others include much
ceremonial and may last longer than twenty-four hours.[1]

Parties seldom involve reciprocal exchanges though at some large
ones traditional obligations to other participants may be settled.
Invitations are usually given on the basis of residence near the
location of the party rather than of membership of a particular
[535] descent group. Most take place during the afternoon and evening
[533] and non-traditional dancing to guitar accompaniment may continue
throughout the night. Generally, only the host's household is
[534] involved in much preparation for a private party but other men's
wives will help prepare food, for which some return is expected.
Often only a small number of those attending receive a share of
food in the customary manner. Others may participate in the danc-
[177] ing at will, but, if they wish to eat or drink, must purchase food
or alcohol. Behaviour at such parties is largely imitative of
European practice, to the extent that at one wedding party observed
the bride was presented with a quantity of old plates, dishes and
cutlery by other villagers.

438 In addition to these exchanges with kinsmen, co-residents and
neighbouring villagers, there have been long-established trade
[437] links between the inland and coastal people. This trade originally

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[1] In the past they sometimes lasted several days.

438 consisted in the barter of shells, lime and wooden and clay pots
[437] from the coast in return for areca and feathers from inland. Clay
pots, shells and feathers are now rarely traded and the coastal
people hawk their produce, mainly smoked fish and lime, around the
villages and at the markets for cash.

433 All the people's subsistence needs may be produced within the village or by kinsmen or friends in other, essentially similar, villages. The exchange system serves both as a form of group security, in that the aged or infirm or people with gardens temporarily out of production can rely on kinsmen or friends for support, and a means of exercising authority, through the manipulation of the flow of goods and services. Strictly speaking, however, there is no necessary dependence on the production or distribution decisions made by others. In the case of cash and storebought goods, the reverse applies. These originate outside the village economy and in most cases outside the country. Whereas, given the limits of time, resources and convention, a villager may produce as much of any garden or forest item as he desires, he cannot affect the quantities of cash or store goods available, or the rate (through wage and price levels) at which they may be obtained.

(b) The cash sector

434 The main sources of cash for Orokaiva villagers are the sale of
cultivated produce, the sale of labour and remittances from kin in
[443] employment elsewhere. Since 1959, an additional source has been
the ownership and operation of small stores, but so far only about
twenty-five men (including some indigenes from other districts)
have turned to trading. The relative significance of each source
varies greatly from household to household within a village and
within the sub-district. All occur irregularly and are highly unpredictable in the level of returns.

241 (i) Cash cropping. The cash crops of coffee, cocoa, rubber and
coconuts occur in either individually-owned or communal holdings,
the former under one of a number of land tenure systems, including
customary tenure, the Higaturu Land Registration Scheme and the
Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance. Individual holdings tend to be
small, frequently less than 0.5 acre in size and containing less
[578] than 250 trees. The communal holdings are larger, often exceeding
ten acres, but, in some cases, they are not worked because of disputes over rights to trees and land. In other cases, they are
operated by individuals on a rota system. Plantings are rarely
weeded or trees pruned. This applies particularly to the communal
holdings, where individuals do not accept responsibility for maintenance. In the older rubber and coconut plantings many of the
[433] trees are self-sown. As well as lacking maintenance, in most cases

121 [464] assumptions on which the thesis is based warrant discussion at this stage. These are, one, that in the 'pure subsistence unit'

> What they produce is either consumed by themselves or goes to waste. Saving is limited to the storage of such necessities as can be stored as a reserve against a rainy day, a poor harvest or sickness, and to occasional preparation for increased consumption in feasts and ceremonial. Beyond that there is no incentive to save, or to produce at a level beyond their normal immediate consumption. The level of production is therefore subject to a very definite ceiling, which may be well below their potential capacity to produce, in that when they have produced sufficient of what they know how to produce to meet their immediate needs, there is no point in producing more. The production of a surplus beyond that requirement adds nothing to their satisfactions, present or future. (Fisk 1962:463)

and, two, that 'economic and ceremonial activity are distinct and separate':

> [464] [433] Ceremonial activity and the preparations therefor we shall treat in the category of leisure activity, and as affecting economic activity only to the extent that certain amounts of leisure activity are socially regarded as necessary, and that the amounts of labour available for economic activities are socially limited thereby. (Fisk 1962:464)

556 [595] Power and prestige in New Guinea are dependent largely upon the
control of goods and services. There is, ideally, no limit to the
number of wives, pigs and gardens a man may have, and the more he
has the greater the productive capacity of his particular subsist-
ence unit. As his level of production increases, that part which
is distributed as opposed to consumed increases disproportionately,
and so the range and degree to which others are indebted to him
increases. Not only does this serve to elevate his status but it
provides him with considerable security in times of stress and when
[431] making further investments. Insofar as the distributive system
itself is concerned, ceremonial activities (although emphasised in
the anthropological literature) may be less significant and time-
consuming than informal gift-giving; although the principle of
reciprocation is at the basis of both, specific goods and services
do have exchange values so that they do not necessarily operate on
a like-for-like basis. Thus the pattern tends towards a powerful
(wealthy) individual distributing goods (foodstuffs) and being
[437] reciprocated with services (labour). This has the effect of in-
creasing his capacity to produce and so further elevating his
[184] status. Political, social and economic behaviour are therefore
inextricably connected and 'leisure' activities cannot be considered
apart from the economic system. An example from the Orokaiva will
serve to demonstrate the point.

556 An important status indicator is the size of an individual's yam
[251] holding. Yams both enter into ceremonial exchanges and are stored
for consumption during the dry season when garden foods are in short
[241] supply. Compared with taro, work on yams is 'hard' and not every-
body grows them. In harvesting the owner seeks assistance from
[431] others and the services so rendered are normally reciprocated in the
[437] form of gifts of yams rather than the subsequent rendering of an
equivalent labour service. The more assistance an individual can
solicit the greater his potential capacity to increase his yam
433 holding and so increase his standing in the community while meeting
some of the needs of those without yams. In such a case there is
no limit to the individual level of production although there is in
demand of the group as a whole. However, there is no evidence to
suggest this demand is met since annually people must resort to the
production of less favoured foods such as sago to satisfy require-
[241] ments. This suggests that the customarily defined span of activities
may be so great as to leave the people without the capacity to
satisfy their demand for yams, although the exchange system function-
ing through the network of ceremonial and leisure activities does
permit the more even distribution of scarce resources among the
group and provide its individual members with a higher degree of
security than they would otherwise have.

121 Disregarding the merits of Fisk's hypothesis as applied to pristine subsistence communities, virtually all are now elements in much broader political, economic and religious systems. This is directly reflected in work patterns where novel demands are made on the people's time and the level of out-migration by adult males leaves a heavier work load for those remaining behind. As the linkages with the external sector become more effective so these features, which may be largely unrelated to the increasing commercialisation of the economy, become more significant. On these grounds Salisbury's thesis (1962) that the change from a stone to steel technology has resulted in a considerable saving of labour time in certain axe-using activities cannot usefully be presented as additional evidence for the availability of labour for commercial activities.

A final reason for making a comprehensive study of activity patterns is to test the assumption that the particular nature of organisation in subsistence agriculture is well suited to the grafting on of commercial activities. In considering tillage, animal husbandry and construction in traditional societies Udy (1960:85) states:

> None of these processes ordinarily requires the individual attention of members of the production organization. It is perfectly possible to cultivate a field, tend a herd, or build a house, and be carrying on some other activity during the same period. In fact, in tillage and animal husbandry there are limits beyond which more exclusive attention to the process

The organisation of work by households 512

There is very little difference between households in the total amount of time spent each man-week on all the different activities. 592 With the exception of the widower in household 19, the range is [461] from only 2.2 hours below to 2.9 hours above the mean of 43.5 hours per man-week. However, there are considerable differences between households in the proportions of labour input allocated to the various activities (see Tables 7:5 and 7:6). Most spend roughly comparable proportions of their time in garden clearance. Households 19 and 24 are exceptions. The former, a widower, did a [476] considerable amount of clearing on behalf of the widow in household 18. The couple in household 24 likewise gave help in clearing and planting, to household 23 in particular.

There are wider differences in the time allocated to subsistence gardening. Households 18 and 24 spend most time in gardening, followed by household 19. Although this may partly reflect a greater amount of time required by the older people comprising these households to achieve subsistence, it is significant that 18 and 24 are also pre-eminent in the amount of garden produce disposed of each week and that the widower in household 19 puts a greater proportion of his working time than anyone else into assisting others (see Table 11:8). The head of household 18 is a widow (successively of three Inonda men) and has only permissive rights to Inonda lands. Household 24 is in a somewhat similar position, being resident because two daughters are married to Inonda men, and it seems likely that both these households strengthen their positions in the village through generosity towards others.[1] In return for his [437] assistance, the widower receives most of his food from others and so spends little time in cooking. Three households devote less than the average amount of time to gardening. Household 23 instead spends more than the average in entrepreneurial activities and in activities connected with the external agencies; household 21 also devotes considerable time to the latter, including purchasing and church services. Apart from the widower, household 17 has the shortest working week.

The three households spending most time in gardening spend least in the other food-producing activities - fishing, hunting, gathering of forest products and sago-making. In activities demanding agility or stamina younger people are naturally more prominent. The head of household 20 is the best marksman and hunts frequently. He also helped a cross-cousin in sago-making and his wife often fishes. In fact, this household spends more time in this class of activity than

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[1] Crocombe (1966:78) considers that this was the basic motive for a birthday party given by the head of household 24 in 1962.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE [illegible]]

181 In his discussion of Orokaiva morality, Williams (1930:322) states that 'The group...contents itself with two main requirements - (i) material plenty, and (ii) internal concord. ...each virtue implies agent and reagent'. Three 'moral factors' are identified as working positively towards the achievement of this ideal: industry (the manifestations of which have been treated in Part II),
[476] liberality and helpfulness. A concern for mutual aid operates among members of the 'sympathy group' and is therefore only effec-
[571] tive over a socially and geographically restricted area. Being an acephalous society, it is based on a reciprocal system whereby a
[431] prestation voluntarily made carries with it certain obligations and expectations.

431 In traditional Orokaiva society several types of prestations were identified, according to the scale, circumstance and nature of the obligation incurred, and many of them are still practised, albeit often in an attenuated form. The most common is termed osisa - the informal daily distribution of small quantities of
437 cooked food within the village. No account is kept of the volume involved but equal participation by all households is expected, the only exceptions being the aged and the single men, with the latter being called upon to reciprocate with a labour service from time to time. Such distributions are primarily the women's responsibility. However the casual gifts of areca and lime, made by the men, fall within the same category.

796 The term hande, freely translated as 'generous', is applied more specifically to ceremonial distributions and feasts organised by
574 the men.[1] They are normally characterised by the participation of agnates and affines from other villages and by the strict attention
431 paid to the apportionment of gifts according to considerations of kinship, status and specific obligations being acknowledged.

626 Visoare are challenge feasts of an avowedly competitive and hostile nature made in connection with unresolved disputes such as
[578] encroachment on land, or the stealing and unauthorised killing of
[574] pigs. They generally occur at the inter-, but neighbouring, clan level and incorporate the powerful sanction of shame for the indi-
[614] vidual or group challenged. The procedure is for the party levelling the initial accusation to hold a feast, invite the other, make a gift of food to them, and then challenge them publicly to reciprocate with a feast of equivalent scale. A failure to match it can only result in humiliation.

431 The type of gift made as a gesture of friendship or appreciation,
572 but not normally reciprocated, is known as umbare. Such gifts are
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[1] See p.26 for a description of the circumstances under which feasts are arranged.A

A,[See Category 574, p.26--Analyst]

Chapter 10

Exchange patterns: Sivepe

The nature and volume of transactions

437 [125] As in the case of data relating to activity patterns, the transactions of the 35 adult members of the sample were recorded over a period of 25 weeks and 4 days, or 4,741 man-days. However, in view of the household functioning as the basic unit of production and consumption, attention was restricted to inter-household exchanges. These transactions were effected on only 63 per cent (2,987) of the man-days, the mean number being three per transacting day. Distinctive features are associated with the range, [431] nature of partner and circumstances in which each of the five identified categories is exchanged. Subsistence produce and labour services are associated primarily with the subsistence sector and cash crops, storebought goods and cash with the external, the former being characterised as gift exchange and the latter as monetary in that there is an immediate exchange of goods for cash (see Tables 10:1 and 10:2).[A] Although large sums of money do enter the community through the gift exchange system, it will be demonstrated that these originate primarily from wage earners employed in the external sector. In effect, therefore, the distinction which emerges between the two sectors in production and activity patterns is maintained in the systems of exchange. The concept of the market economy is of only restricted application although, as the volume of gift exchanges suggests, it does not follow that there is no demand for subsistence produce within the community.

(a) Non-monetary sector

431 437 (i) Subsistence produce. Subsistence foodstuffs dominate the non-monetary transactions with 25,909 lbs being exchanged. Both at the level of specific goods and of the sum of goods the basic feature of balance in exchange is demonstrated for, if transactions with the researchers are excluded, acquisitions account for 48 per cent of all transactions. Since this equivalence also occurs at the level of individual goods it suggests no significant geographical variations in the relative abundance or scarcity of goods within the range of transacting partners. While the volume of transactions of specific items does, crudely, reflect the relative importance

[A] [See Categories 438, 439, pp. 186 & 189--Analyst]

437 431 of each in the food pattern, the proportion of total production of goods entering into the distributive system varies considerably, being related to both its degree of scarcity and the circumstances of the exchange.

[241] [262] Taro, being the staple food, is normally readily available to all households from their own resources and it is estimated that only about 4 per cent of total production enters into distribution.[1] Of this figure over half (56 per cent) circulates within the village, usually in the form of individual plates of cooked food distributed after the evening meal is prepared. These evening distributions are initiated by the first to prepare their meals, and offered to those returning later to help allay hunger until their own food is ready. While the principle of reciprocation applies on such occasions individual exchanges are not accounted for. This applies equally to areca, lime and pepper which are casually distributed at gatherings.

Of foods which are resorted to in the dry season, particularly sago and breadfruit, a much higher proportion of total production enters into circulation. Well over half the sago produced is distributed, specifically to compensate for assistance rendered in its working, but more generally in recognition of the general scarcity of food and of an obligation among those endowed to share their stocks with the less fortunate. Even in such instances, however, the manner in which it is distributed stresses particular relationships.

431 23 224 [262] [574] Custom requires that an individual should not eat the meat of a pig which he has reared himself or of wild game which he has caught. Consequently virtually all meat 'produced' enters into the exchange network, the only observed exception occurring when a pig breaks into a garden and the owner endeavours to kill it himself. Even in

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[128] [1] This figure was determined by using yield data gathered in Sivepe during 1961-62 by the FAO Survey of Indigenous Agriculture. It was estimated that 159 persons produced 298.1 tons of taro in one year from 51.4 acres. Assuming the acreages to be constant the FAO survey estimates an individual requirement to be 0.34 acres per annum and Rimoldi (1966:20) estimates 0.36 acres - a yield of 5.5 tons per acre is obtained. (This includes area under other crops, but taro accounts for 80 to 90 per cent of the total acreage and it is assumed this proportion is constant.) Thus one individual produces 1.87 tons from 0.34 acres.

Using the ratio 70:36 of adult to individual acreage (Rimoldi 1966:19) an adult produces 3.63 tons from 0.66 acres. The present survey covered 4,741 adult-days (man-days) or 12.9 adult years. A yield of 46.8 tons was therefore obtained. During the same period 1.9 tons of taro - 4.1 per cent of total production - was disposed.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 187]

431 such cases much of the meat is distributed. However, if an individual wishes to organise a pig-feast he normally arranges an
231 initial exchange of pigs with another person (frequently with one
224 to whom he had previously given a piglet to look after until it matured), only killing and preparing the pig so received. Simi-
[574 larly, when a number of people are hunting together, whoever catches anything will immediately make a gift of it to another member of the party.

431 A small proportion of all transactions comprises goods given in
736 charity to the old and infirm, one item falling specifically in this
737 category being firewood. In such cases no return is expected.

(ii) Labour services. Of the sample's activity time, 3.9 per
437 cent was directed to rendering labour services, almost all of which were on a non-monetary basis. As with subsistence produce an overall balance is registered but, since assistance is frequently reciprocated in the form of gifts of food, this fact conceals substantial internal variations within the sample. Of labour services acquired, 55 per cent were directed to two men: Umbahapa, the oldest person and a widower living alone, and Linton, the most active and highly regarded of the men,[1] while eleven individuals received no assistance whatsoever. By contrast all but one individual gave some assistance to a member of another household and no one person accounted for more than 12 per cent of all assistance rendered.

Similarly, as demonstrated by data on the composition of work groups,[2] the range of activities over which labour services are exchanged is very restricted. Eighty-eight per cent fall within the subsistence sector and of these over half occur in construction and sago-making. Among cash cropping activities assistance is commonly provided only in the pulping and washing of coffee (see Fig.10:1). Such services are therefore largely confined to activities where, firstly, the labour resources of the nuclear family are normally inadequate for their effective completion, as, for example, construction and sago-making and, secondly, immediate compensation is expected, as, again, in sago-making, in harvesting yams, helping with the exchanging and butchering of pigs, and hunting.

431 (iii) Storebought goods. While products of the external sector circulate through the gift exchange system, acquisitions predominate and comprise 88 per cent of the total volume transacted. Goods received from the researchers apart, most derive from relatives currently residing outside the subsistence village context - either as settlers at Sangara or in wage employment. The data incorporate

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[1] For a detailed account of the activities of these two men, see pp.117-21, 126-7.

[2] See pp.114-17.

A, [See Category 554, pp. 117-119; Category 461, pp. 120-121; Category 512, pp. 126-127--Analyst]
B, [See Category 461, pp. 114-117--Analyst]

431 Clothing and tobacco, together with two specific gifts of a radio and a wrist watch, formed the bulk of goods received in this manner.

In the case of food a larger proportion is acquired from other subsistence villagers since some, particularly rice, circulates in a cooked form in the manner of taro and other garden produce, while tinned foods are frequently featured in more formal prestations.

Finally, the circulation of cartridges is directly connected with the rendering of hunting services and the provision of wild game.

432 (b) Monetary sector

438 (i) Subsistence produce. A small volume of subsistence produce is exchanged for cash but no such changes occur between kin apart from some pig which may be 'marketed' in the village and here accounts for 38 per cent by value of all transactions. Two categories can be identified according to the type of goods and circumstances of exchange. Sweet potatoes, taro and yams are sold by women to external agencies - the hospital administration at Saiho and the Anglican mission at Sasembata. These sales are largely unpremeditated and sporadic. The other goods, particularly areca, pepper, lime, pig, wild game and smoked fish are all scarce in some part of the sub-district and are normally transacted by the men, at Saiho market or with hawkers travelling through the village. Thus pig and other game always find a ready market because they do not constitute regular elements of the diet, while lime and fish are not available locally but are carried into the area by hawkers from the mouth of the Mambare and other coastal areas. Areca is plentiful around Sivepe and occasionally men carry bunches to Saiho to sell to people living at lower altitudes, along the Kumusi and towards Popondetta, where it is less common.

437 (ii) Labour services. Only two instances occurred of labour services being rendered in return for a cash payment, both in connection with cash crops. One involved assistance in marketing rubber and the second travelling to Awala to receive payment for coffee previously delivered.

[434] (iii) Cash crops. The cash crops, coffee and rubber, account for three-quarters of income derived from the sale of village products but only 26 per cent of the sample's total income (see Table 10:3). The marketing of both is the direct concern of the producer and there is little evidence of movement of the harvested product between members of the sample, either as payment for labour services rendered or due to one individual acting as middle-man between the producer and buyer.[1]

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[1] But see p.203.

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Table 10:9

Sivepe: transactions of selected categories of goods and services by households
(volume per man-week)

A. Subsistence produce, cash crops and labour services

Household	No. of adults	No. of man-weeks recorded	Subsistence produce (lbs)						Cash crops ($)	Labour services (hrs)			
			Cultivated produce		Produce of hunting		Domestic pig		Cash crops	Subsistence		Cash	
			A	D	A	D	A	D	D	A	D	A	D
1*	4	86.3	13.4	9.1	1.0	-	7.0	6.7	-	0.2	0.5	-	0.2
2*	4	76.4	10.8	19.4	1.2	0.2	1.2	5.3	0.20	0.6	0.3	1.0	-
3*	2	51.1	15.8	17.1	0.7	2.4	0.7	0.3	0.30	0.1	2.7	0.2	-
4	2	9.6	7.7	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	1.4	1.3	-	0.4
5*	3	58.9	9.8	7.4	0.4	0.2	0.6	-	0.07	0.1	2.1	-	0.1
6	1	25.6	14.9	19.3	0.1	-	0.4	0.1	-	13.5	0.6	-	-
7	1	16.4	9.9	5.6	-	-	-	-	-	5.2	5.6	-	0.1
8	1	25.3	23.2	40.2	-	0.1	0.4	-	-	1.4	3.6	-	1.4
9*	2	47.3	30.4	34.6	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.33	0.6	-	0.2	-
10	2	39.1	9.0	6.4	-	-	0.7	-	-	0.8	0.2	-	0.4
11	4	68.1	9.2	11.9	0.1	0.1	0.6	-	-	0.1	1.0	-	0.2
12	2	16.4	12.1	8.1	-	-	0.1	-	-	0.1	0.6	-	0.3
13*	2	46.3	17.6	35.9	0.5	0.7	0.2	4.4	0.13	1.8	0.5	0.8	0.2
14	3	60.1	8.6	20.7	0.1	1.5	1.1	0.2	-	1.2	2.6	-	0.7
15*	2	50.3	22.1	38.2	0.3	2.6	5.8	2.7	0.31	3.1	2.6	1.4	0.2
Total	35	677.2											
Mean			14.2	19.0	0.5	0.6	1.8	2.0	0.11	1.5	1.4	0.2	0.2
Cash cropping households	T 19	416.6											
	M		16.2	21.1	0.7	0.8	2.6	3.2	0.17	1.0	1.2	0.3	0.1
Non-cash cropping households	T 16	260.6											
	M		11.1	15.6	0.1	0.4	0.6	0.1	-	2.3	1.8	-	0.4

434 For example, during period II the sample's income ranged from $1 in one week to almost $50 in another. Since the turnover of cash is rapid and little capital formation takes place, the pattern of expenditure closely parallels income, and exceeds it in the latter part of period III when the substantial demand for storebought foods for ceremonial activities is met primarily with savings accumulated earlier in the year. These major fluctuations in the acquisition of cash demonstrate the danger of villagers placing any great dependence on it at this stage of commercialisation of the economy.

The exchange patterns of households

437 592 Both the volume and variety of transactions vary considerably from one household to another, and can be related to specific differences in the resource base of each (see Table 10:9). Thus, there is a distinct movement of labour services within the cash sector from non-cash cropping to cash cropping households, of cash crops from the latter, of the produce of hunting from householders with direct access to shotguns (households 3 and 15), of cash to cash cropping households, and of storebought goods to those households with the highest incomes.

Cash croppers exhibit a much higher volume of transactions than non-cash croppers in all categories apart from subsistence labour services. As suggested by the figures for subsistence produce, this applies equally to transactions in the gift and in the monetary exchange system. As in activity patterns so with exchange: cash [555] croppers evidence a high level of participation in the traditional village economy. That is, cash croppers are industrious in work and generous in distribution, two qualities which generate respect and status both traditionally and in contemporary Orokaiva society.

The lower rate of disposal of subsistence labour services by cash croppers may be indicative of the greater premium they place on time and a preference for exchanging goods more abundantly available to them but, apart from in the processing of cash crops, there is little evidence that they exploit the system by drawing on unutilised labour from other households. However, it is worth noting that household 15, whose head is the most active male in the sample, does record a high incidence of such exchanges of labour, in particular of acquisitions.

Not only do particular households play an important part in regulating the flow of specific categories of goods, especially the scarce ones of cash, pigs and game, but there are broad variations between households in their general involvement in the exchange system. The bulk of domestic pig is handled by four households (1, 2, 13 and 14), with only very small amounts being distributed or redistributed to others. Some of the households headed by older people (6, 10 and 11) or which are only recently

592 437 established in the village (4 and 7) scarcely participate at all unless they make specific efforts to obligate others to them or to settle existing obligations, as with 6 having a sago palm felled and 7 assisting his affines in subsistence tasks on numerous occasions.

The network of inter-household exchanges of these scarce goods and of services, even at the level of co-residents and close kin, suggests the system to be primarily a negotiated and exploitative [431] one with the ideal of communal interests and group security relegated to a subsidiary role. This dual aspect of exchange is exemplified in a statement of intentions made by the head of household 18 where, in distributing some sago, he proposed to make large gifts to three people 'because they are always quick to help me when I am in need of food' but smaller gifts would be made to others since 'it would be an insult not to share with other people when they see I have plenty of sago'. In fact the security with which older people are provided is of a low order if the volume of exchanges with others is considered.

Income and e[illegible]nditure of cash over 46.5 weeks

434 The level of the Sivepe people's commitment to the external sector of the economy is demonstrated by their income and expenditure patterns. All households handled some money during the period from February 1964 to January 1965 and even household 4 which registered a gross income of only 50c during the period it was present, left the village with the specific object of seeking wage employment on a Sangara plantation (see Table 10:10).A Cash croppers handle substantially more money than non-cash croppers but this fact is not simply a function of the agricultural activities of the former. There are several important avenues available for the acquisition of money, and commitment to cash does not imply any parallel commitment to cash cropping.

As the single most important source of income, remittances rank with proceeds from the sale of cash crops and, for cash croppers, these two provide their main sources of cash. By contrast non-cash croppers derive over half of their income primarily from Sangara settlers and secondarily from other villagers[1] (see Table 10:11).

[431] The value of connections with wage earners and Sangara settlers is enhanced by the gifts of goods frequently associated with the

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[1] Some money is also obtained directly from the sale of cash crops. Two cases were recorded of quantities of coffee being given to non-cash croppers in acknowledgement of assistance rendered; while in a third a young member of a non-cash cropping household emulated his brother in exploiting the communal rubber planting.

A,[See Category 511, p. 205--Analyst]

178 there are those indigenes who have moved temporarily or permanently
away from the village economy - to take up blocks of land as ex-
166 servicemen settlers at Sangara or to find employment locally or in
one of the main urban centres. With these people personal contact
in economic relations persists.

166 Most of the resettlement blocks are less than five years old and
still being developed. The settlers remain therefore partly
[434] subsistence-oriented and, with only a limited return from cash
crops, their incomes are small. Among the Orokaiva contacts with
kin are sustained since many live within a day's walk of their home
[465] villages. Most of those working within the District are employed
on a casual basis for salaries of less than $4 per month from which,
supplemented by rations, they derive all their sustenance, although
plantation labourers frequently establish small gardens of their
own. Again regular contact is maintained between them and their
home village, or new links are forged, as between mission employees
[434] and neighbouring villagers. Most of the wage earners resident out-
side the District are permanent employees of the Administration with
larger incomes than any members of the previous groups - two young
men in Port Moresby were earning $9.35 and $8.27 each per week. For
these people visits to the village are restricted to bi-annual leave
but contact is maintained through correspondence and remitting gifts.

●437 Table 10:15 details the movement of goods and services between
the sample and the various groups. As might be expected, virtually
all (96 per cent) of the subsistence produce acquired by the sample
originates from villagers. Of produce disposed only 73 per cent is
directed to villagers and over 3,000 lbs (21 per cent) go to organi-
sations. In fact two-thirds of the latter was consumed by the
researchers; however, a significant quantity is purchased by the
external agencies. The movement of certain items assumes a rather
different pattern in reflecting the needs and circumstances of the
[438] several groups. Virtually all the lime acquired is obtained through
local wage earners or Saiho market, and all the fish through hawkers
from the coast or, again, through the market. Similarly areca is
widely distributed, 13 per cent of disposals going to local wage
earners and 11 per cent to the market. While the circulation of
such goods is insignificant in relation to the total volume of pro-
duce, the dispersal of kin over a wide area facilitates the movement
of locally scarce resources. A small but comprehensive range of
subsistence produce is disposed to local wage earners, reflecting
the felt need among such people to supplement their restricted diet.

The exchange of labour services is, effectively, restricted to subsistence villagers, with physical separation and distinctive work patterns precluding any interaction with the other socio-economic categories. Although villagers do give considerable assistance to settlers on their blocks, this involves lengthy

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 215]

Table 10:15

Sivepe: the circulation of goods and services by occupational category of partner
(percentages)

	Acquisition						Disposal					
	Total	1	2	3	4	5	Total	1	2	3	4	5
	(lbs)						(lbs)					
Subsistence produce	11,553	96	1	2	-	1	15,091	73	-	4	2	21
deviant items:												
Xanthosoma	350	94	-	6	-	-	104	92	-	1	-	7
Sweet potato	1,136	95	4	-	-	1	2,332	55	-	-	-	45
	(hrs)						(hrs)					
Labour services	1,170	99	1	-	-	-	1,108	99	-	1	-	-
	($)						($)					
Cash crops	-	-	-	-	-	-	71.60	-	-	-	-	100
Storebought goods	314.16	19	1	8	26	46	25.43	99	-	-	-	1
deviant items:												
Rice	32.30	16	1	6	1	76	5.42	97	-	-	-	3
Tinned fish	29.22	29	1	6	-	64	5.10	98	-	-	-	2
Tinned meat	11.20	-	4	15	3	78	0.06	67	-	-	-	33
Clothing	56.30	-	-	6	74	19	3.14	100	-	-	-	-
Bedding	9.20	-	16	-	57	27	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cartridges	19.80	39	-	1	-	61	2.00	100	-	-	-	-
Sacks	3.50	14	-	86	-	-	1.50	100	-	-	-	-
Watch/radio	30.00	-	-	33	67	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cash	273.72	13	-	7	34	46	239.20	20	-	-	-	80

1 = subsistence villagers; 2 = settlers; 3 = wage earners within District; 4 = wage earners outside District;
5 = organisations.

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437 absences from the village[1] and the services are normally reciprocated with goods originating in the external sector.

The exchange of cash crops (for cash) is wholly bilateral in form - between producer and buyer - with no other movement identifiable. This does not apply to storebought goods. While 46 per cent are obtained directly from trade stores and other organisations, [438] significant quantities are also received from wage earners, as well as from other subsistence villagers. The bulk of goods obtained from organisations are foodstuffs and stimulants (59 per cent) and [439] these may be consumed casually or redistributed, primarily in ceremonial exchanges. Wage earners outside the District are the second most important source of storebought goods; in this case the goods are largely non-perishable and of a comparatively high value 431 as, for example, a radio, clothing, bedding and linen. Three parcels of gifts received were valued at $44, $35 and $19 each. Not only are such items suited for postal delivery but these are the only people that can really afford to make such gifts. Wage earners within the District are unable to make large gifts, both because of their lower incomes and the frequency of inter-visiting. Instead small quantities of food or used clothing are commonly given by them, although on one occasion a villager received a second-hand watch and on another, a number of sacks. The latter are highly valued for the storage of coffee.

438 439 The 19 per cent of storebought goods obtained from villagers fall into two categories - food which, as stated above, is mostly ceremonially exchanged,[2] and cartridges. Both the owners (or the operators) of shotguns received frequent requests to hunt on behalf of others, in return for the supply of cartridges. However, one of them also expected an additional payment of 10c per cartridge from some people for the service.[3]

437 With the exception of a few small gifts of prepared food made to the researchers, the acquired storebought goods are only given to other subsistence villagers. Essentially, therefore, the pattern of movement of these, as of subsistence produce, reflects the different resource bases of the various socio-economic categories where the diffusion of kin facilitates reciprocally based exchange or, in the absence of kin, monetary exchange. The opportunities for this latter type are enhanced by the introduction of non-kinsmen into the subsistence villagers' orbit, particularly as mission

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[1] See p.77.

[2] In one minor feast an individual received thirteen tins of fish and large pots of rice and tea, apart from the customary range of subsistence produce.

[3] See p.119.

437 employees. The need for these people to evolve some sort of exchange relationships with neighbouring villagers is explained by their low salaries and restricted subsistence resources. Their presence also facilitates long distance hawking, in that people from the coast will come to stay with relatives employed inland, bringing with them their fish and lime.

436 The main use of cash is as the medium of exchange with the ex-
ternal sector and most transactions are, therefore, with organisations,
with 80 per cent of disposals to them. These cover not only pur-
chases of goods but tax payments and mission contributions, which
together account for 15 per cent of all disposals to organisations.
Only a part of this expenditure is met by the sale of cash crops
and subsistence produce and by village-based wage labour. If gifts
from the researchers are disregarded, remittances from wage earners
outside the District rank with earnings produced directly by the
sample's endeavours (37 and 40 per cent respectively of total ac-
[433] quisitions), while a further 8 per cent of total income is derived
from wage earners within the District. In effect the external
sector of the village economy is dependent to a very substantial
extent on the earnings of those kinsmen in wage labour.

The geographical dimensions of exchange

439 As revealed in the preceding section, the entry of a number of kinsmen into the external sector of the economy and their scattering over a wide area considerably complicate the spatial dimensions of exchange by introducing something of a random element based upon the distribution of expatriate settlements and institutions rather than of indigenous population. Thus, three-quarters of all clothing originates from Port Moresby since that is where the highest income earners (among kin) are employed; the 34 per cent of cash income obtained from wage earners outside the District came from three separate points in the Central, Gulf and Western Highlands Districts where relatives are stationed; while the bulk of foodstuffs are purchased in a store at Awala - one hour's walk from the village - rather than another at Kongohambo - only 20 minutes away - because the former is better stocked.

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438 With novel means of communication available, particularly the postal service, the circulation of non-perishable goods which are not a product of the village economy is largely independent of factors of distance. Further, such circulation operates primarily outside the network of subsistence villagers, is restricted principally to the monetary system and is of a more strictly 'economic' nature. By contrast the exchange of subsistence produce and labour services takes place predominately at the village level, and here a more significant geographical (and sociological) dimension to exchanges can be identified.

437 438 Table 10:16 outlines the geographical pattern of transactions of subsistence produce and labour services. In so far as produce is concerned, 96 per cent of all acquisitions and 89 per cent of disposals[1] are restricted to subsistence villages. Furthermore, almost all of these exchanges are effected within a radius of two miles of Sivepe, with the majority operating within the village itself. The small net outflow of produce away from the villages (of sales and gifts to relatives in paid employment) is more than compensated for by the dominant inflow of cash and storebought goods described above. Within this broad pattern specific variations are identifiable, from produce which is exchanged almost exclusively within Sivepe to that which figures largely in links with distant villages and points outside the village network. Within the former category are prepared dishes such as 'soup', foods eaten primarily as refreshments, such as sugar-cane, and those which dominate the diet during the dry season - sago and breadfruit. The latter category comprises the ecologically based transactions of *areca*, lime and fish. There is only a very limited demand for all three, however, and the volume and frequency of such exchanges is of little significance within the total pattern.

[231] [262] Taro and pig figure largely in inter-village exchanges, their movement being explicable primarily in cultural terms. One is the main source of carbohydrates, the other of protein and both serve as essential measures of wealth in food resources, therefore dominating ceremonial exchanges. In addition, custom dictates that a person cannot kill and consume his own pig but must effect an exchange with another. Since it is unlikely that two households in the same village wish to kill pigs at the same time, the transactions are largely made between individuals in different villages.

The movements of yams and *Xanthosoma* are somewhat anomalous: almost all acquisitions of the former originate within Sivepe but many of the disposals are directed to other villages, while with *Xanthosoma* the pattern is reversed, most acquisitions coming from other villages. Neither crop is particularly abundant and the extent to which each is planted is largely a matter of individual preference, but both are favoured because of their storage qualities. Their variable movement must therefore be viewed as an expression of individual rather than broad cultural or ecological considerations.

437 Disregarding, for the moment, absences involving assistance to settlers at Sangara, the exchange of labour services is restricted, effectively, to the inter-village level and, almost entirely, to Sivepe itself. In the case of subsistence activities it is not

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[1] If transactions with researchers are disregarded this figure becomes 86 per cent.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

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Table 10:16

Sivepe: the geographical distribution of subsistence produce and labour service transactions
(by place as a percentage of total distribution)

	Total (quantity)	Sivepe	Other villages within a radius of: <1 mile	1-2 miles	>2 miles	Sasembata mission	Saiho market	Other expatriate centres	Total (%)
	lbs								
I **Acquisition**									
Subsistence produce:	11,333	68	11	12	5	-	-	3	99
Selected items -									
Taro	3,390	60	10	14	9	-	-	6	99
Xanthosoma	350	20	23	50	2	2	-	4	101
Sweet potato	1,136	86	8	-	-	-	-	5	99
Yam	870	94	4	-	2	-	-	-	100
'Soup'	169	91	3	3	3	-	-	-	100
Sago	356	77	12	7	4	-	-	-	100
Breadfruit	968	98	1	-	1	-	-	-	100
Sugar cane	155	85	1	6	-	3	-	5	100
Areca, lime, etc.	126	57	10	2	17	-	10	6	102
Fish	5	-	-	-	80	-	20	-	100
Pig (domestic and wild)	1,311	44	16	38	1	-	-	-	99
	hrs								
Labour services:	1,170	90	3	1	5	-	-	1	100
Cash	140	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Subsistence	1,030	88	3	2	6	-	-	1	100
	lbs								
II **Disposal**									
Subsistence produce:	15,091	66	9	6	8	5	4	3	101
Selected items -									
Taro	4,259	51	8	12	13	9	3	5	101
Xanthosoma	103	99	-	-	-	-	-	1	100
Sweet potato	2,332	72	2	2	2	5	17	-	100
Yam	1,459	74	5	1	13	-	1	5	99
'Soup'	226	86	4	-	7	-	-	3	100
Sago	746	81	5	2	5	2	1	4	100
Breadfruit	1,497	81	5	1	8	3	-	2	100
Sugar cane	161	84	6	1	4	4	-	1	100
Areca, lime, etc.	114	44	10	6	23	-	9	8	100
Pig (domestic and wild)	1,443	38	43	15	2	2	-	-	100
	hrs								
Labour services:	1,108								
Cash	153	96	-	4	-	-	-	-	100
Subsistence	955	75	12	7	5	1	-	-	100

437 uncommon to assist relatives from other villages in such major operations as clearing new garden sites but, with one exception, cash cropping services are confined to the intra-village level.

In conclusion, exchanges are primarily intra- and inter-village, and they operate over a highly restricted geographical range. Further, in the case of cash cropping and during the seasonal food shortages there is a tendency for this range to contract to the intra-village level.

The network of exchanges among kin

433 Apart from the absence of any generalised medium of exchange, it is the strength and ramifications of kinship networks, affirmed by reciprocal exchanges, which are believed to have the most deleterious effects on economic growth by inhibiting the accumulation of individual wealth. Thus, where an individual has access to a scarce resource, for example, money, obligations currently effective with kin permit the latter to register some claim to it, and result in its division and rapid distribution.

121 Murdoch (1949:92) defines a kinship system as 'a structured system of relationships, in which individuals are bound one to another by complex interlocking and ramifying ties'. The most important dimension of this system is 'distance' where, in Murdoch's case, an individual's relatives fall into four major categories - primary, secondary, tertiary and distant relatives. Primary relatives comprise members of the same nuclear family as a person - father, mother, sister, brother, spouse, son, daughter; each of these have primary relatives of their own, most of which are not primary relatives of Ego - for example, father's father, mother's brother, wife's sister - and are spoken of as secondary relatives. Each secondary relative, in turn, has primary relatives who are neither primary nor secondary relatives of Ego, and are therefore termed tertiary relatives - for example, father's brother's wife, father's sister's son, father's father's mother. Distant relatives are more remote than these.

The form and intensity of exchanges are held to be explicable largely in terms of such models of kinship. Sahlins (1965:149), in identifying a spectrum within the field of reciprocity (from 'generalised' through 'balanced' to 'negative reciprocity'), proposes that

> The span of social distance between those who exchange conditions the mode of exchange. Kinship distance...is especially relevant to the form of reciprocity. Reciprocity is inclined toward the generalised pole by close kinship, toward the negative extreme in proportion to kinship distance.

> 121 The reasoning is nearly syllogistic...close kin tend to share, to enter into generalised exchanges, and distant and non-kin to deal in equivalents or in guile.

He does, nevertheless, recognise three aspects of kinship distance, namely, genealogical, segmentary and spatial (or residential) distance. Of the third, he writes: 'It is not only the kinship organizes communities, but communities kinship, so that a spatial, co-residential term affects the measure of kinship distance and this the mode of exchange.' (1965:130)

Among the Mt Lamington Orokaiva exchange networks can best be understood in terms of associated kinship-residential groupings, on account of the physical separation of clans into several branches and the frequent juxtaposition of two or more such branches in a single village. Yet, even with this proviso, it is doubtful whether exchange can be viewed as the principal manifestation of social relations among kindred (if any important relations exist at all in the context of Murdoch's model) for, not only is the proportion of total production entering into the exchange system small in Sivepe, but the dimensions of the system and the number of persons with which an individual effects significant transactions are also small.

•437 The following examination of the major exchange relationships of six selected individuals[1] (see Table 10:17) reveals that many are founded on a specific set of considerations, involving degrees of economic inter-dependence, rather than on general obligations to a wide range of kindred. The conclusions reached are, to a degree, determined by certain assumptions inherent in the mode of analysis.
[513] Firstly, the exchanges of individual members of a household are considered instead of those of the household as a whole although a
[562] man and his wife, for instance, clearly conduct exchanges on each other's behalf. Secondly, women are treated as members of their spouse's lineage group since this is the kinship context in which they are considered to be the most effective transacting agents. In spite of such limitations the fact does emerge that exchange networks are not readily explicable in terms of formal models of kinship or of exchange based on such models.

Linton. Although only adopted into Timumu clan, Linton behaves as a full member of it and retains few links with his true agnates, many of whom reside less than one hour's walk from Sivepe. The total volume of transactions effected by him exceeds that of the other selected individuals in all but two aspects: the disposal of subsistence produce and the acquisition of labour services in subsistence activities. In spite of the fact that he registers a net excess of acquisitions over disposals within each category of transactions this does not necessarily conflict with the norm of generosity applied to respected people because, in this case, the total level of transactions is high.

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[1] The same six whose activity patterns are considered above. See pp.117-27.

His major exchange relationships are with immediate (adopted) kin and also with members of other Sivepe clans, particularly affines. In the case of the former, all resided for at least part of the survey in his adopted father's house next door. Between the two households the degree of economic inter-dependence is substantial, involving exchanges of labour services as well as of subsistence produce. Linton's only important source of labour assistance for cash cropping is primary kin outside his own household, none having any such crops of their own. They also assist with such subsistence tasks as house construction and harvesting yams. On the other hand Linton exercises considerable responsibility for his adopted father, a Timumu man and son of a Jegase woman, and for his mother's brother, a widower and senior member of one of the smaller Jegase lineages. Without sons of their own resident in the village, and with increasing age, the tendency for Linton to act on their behalf in community affairs can be viewed as a logical development. A number of the latter's exchanges are an expression of this. Thus, he shot a pig of his father's and delivered it for him to the husband of a classificatory father's sister. Linton received the return gift of subsistence produce and organised the subsequent distribution in Sivepe, using the produce primarily to settle outstanding obligations of his own rather than of his father's. In particular, the distribution formed part of a major exchange of goods with an affine, his wife's brother, whose house faces his across the village square. This exchange was designed to restore relations which had been damaged earlier by an argument between Linton and his wife. It involved not only subsistence produce but storebought goods and cash, with the sum of $18 formally received and returned. In this case, however, sustained exchanges, particularly of prepared foods, are a feature of the affinal link.

Linton received considerable assistance, particularly in house construction, from his sister's husband, an Agenahambo man who resided in Sivepe until separating from his wife mid-way through the survey. Without close kin of his own in the village other than a married sister, this man was concerned to ingratiate himself with his affines, of whom Linton was evidently the wealthiest. Since he had no food garden of his own in production at the time, he could only achieve this by offering his assistance in various activities.

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Table 10:17

Sivepe: the major exchange relationships of selected individuals with their kin
(where the quantity exchanged exceeds 5 per cent of the total exchanged in at least one category)

Individual	Partner*	Transactions									
		Subsistence produce		Labour-subsistence sector		Labour-cash sector		Storebought goods		Cash	
		A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
I Linton		(lbs)		(hrs)		(hrs)		($)		($)	
Totals		1,010.6	860.5	234.0	79.0	67.8	10.3	11.51	3.92	23.85	17.00
	(a) Other households within the lineage within the village										
	Z	32.0	3.2	40.4	-	30.8	-	0.15	0.12	0.35	-
	F	-	33.0	2.7	-	16.6	-	-	-	-	-
	M	93.5	3.2	-	5.1	13.3	-	-	-	-	-
	D	23.0	8.5	35.1	-	-	-	0.05	-	-	-
	(b) Other households within the clan within the village										
	(c) Other households from other clans within the village										
	ZH	2.0	1.2	69.8	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
	MB	78.0	9.5	14.6	37.1	-	-	0.20	-	-	-
	WB	159.3	198.5	-	-	-	8.0	2.90	2.80	16.0	16.0
	Classificatory MB	24.4	4.5	-	-	-	-	0.20	0.50	-	-
	" MD	1.0	13.7	23.7	-	1.3	-	0.20	-	-	-
	" FWB	-	73.1	7.8	6.7	-	2.3	0.10	0.50	-	-
	H of " MBD	61.7	17.8	9.4	-	2.3	-	-	-	0.20	-
	(d) Other households outside the village										
	FFBS	3.0	55.2	3.2	18.8	-	-	3.03	-	4.30	-
	H of classificatory FZ	435.0	-	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

II Palmiqus											
Totals		723.5	441.7	26.4	-	11.6	-	4.05	0.65	1.90	2.10
(a) Other households within the lineage within the village											
W of classificatory	BS	1.0	-	-	-	2.0	-	0.10	-	-	-
Classificatory	BS	-	24.0	6.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(b) Other households within the clan within the village											
Classificatory	B	46.0	35.2	-	-	-	-	-	0.60	-	-
"	B	-	10.0	-	-	2.0	-	-	-	-	-
(c) Other households from other clans within the village											
Classificatory	MBS	82.2	10.0	-	-	-	-	0.02	-	-	-
"	MBS	111.6	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
W of "	MBS	62.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"	MBSD	2.0	3.0	-	-	1.5	-	-	-	-	-
"	MBD	43.6	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"	MBS	-	55.0	5.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"	Z	85.5	6.0	-	-	3.1	-	-	-	-	-
"	FZ	40.5	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
D of "	B	42.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"	MBD	5.0	-	-	-	2.0	-	-	-	-	-
(d) Other households outside the village											
	FZSW	44.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	WFZSS	-	36.0	-	-	-	-	3.70	-	1.00	-
Classificatory	FBW	31.0	31.5	6.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
"	FBD	-	30.6	6.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
III Gorukari											
Totals		615.3	1,073.0	0.3	-	3.0	3.3	0.58	1.30	2.00	-
(a) Other households within spouse's lineage within the village											
	HF	-	113.0	-	-	-	-	-	0.05	-	-
	HM	115.1	181.5	-	-	-	-	0.10	0.45	-	-
	HFZ	118.2	51.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Table 10:17 (continued)

Individual	Partner*	Transactions									
		Subsistence produce		Labour-subsistence sector		Labour-cash sector		Storebought goods		Cash	
		A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
		(lbs)		(hrs)		(hrs)		($)		($)	
	(b) Other households within spouse's clan within the village										
	Classificatory HFB	35.3	3.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	W of H " B	42.1	4.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	H " Z	49.6	5.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(c) Other households from other clans within the village										
	W of H classificatory MBS	16.4	59.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	W of member of H village	85.0	51.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(d) Other households outside the village										
	H	1.0	107.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Z	3.0	53.0	-	-	-	-	0.30	-	-	-
	HFZ	-	72.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IV Olga											
Totals		381.0	944.2	14.7	2.0	-	-	0.82	1.01	-	-
	(a) Other households within spouse's lineage within the village										
	S	8.1	131.2	-	-	-	-	-	0.10	-	-
	SW	139.0	108.5	-	-	-	-	0.02	0.07	-	-
	(b) Other households within spouse's clan within the village										
	D	12.0	52.6	1.3	-	-	-	0.60	-	-	-
	BSW	-	78.0	-	-	-	-	0.05	-	-	-
	(c) Other households from other clans within the village										
	ZDH	12.3	30.7	6.7	-	-	-	0.02	-	-	-
	ZDD	-	2.0	6.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

(d) Other households outside the village											
	D	123.0	72.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	MBS	41.0	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
V Rodney Gill											
Totals		151.4	4.3	-	62.0	-	6.0	0.12	0.07	0.20	-
(a) Other households within the lineage within the village											
	B	0.5	-	-	26.2	-	6.0	-	-	-	-
	BW	38.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(b) Other households within the clan within the village											
W of classificatory	FB	10.0	-	-	6.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Classificatory	FBD	18.0	0.4	-	-	-	-	0.05	-	-	-
(c) Other households from other clans within the village											
Classificatory	FZ	1.0	-	-	6.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
"	MBS	35.3	-	-	15.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
(d) Other households outside the village		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
VI Kebahapa											
Totals		398.7	463.1	344.9	28.6	-	-	5.32	0.12	2.00	-
(a) Other households within the lineage within the village											
	S	16.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.00	-
(b) Other households within the clan within the village											
Classificatory	S	25.5	22.1	8.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Table 10:17 (continued)

Individual	Partner*	Transactions									
		Subsistence produce		Labour-subsistence sector		Labour-cash sector		Storebought goods		Cash	
		A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
		(lbs)		(hrs)		(hrs)		($)		($)	
(c) Other households from other clans within the village											
	Z	98.5	17.0	5.0	-	-	-	0.05	0.02	-	-
	ZH	-	25.0	32.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	ZS	9.5	78.0	37.1	22.0	-	-	-	0.10	-	-
	ZSW	36.0	-	7.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	ZSB	-	4.0	19.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	ZDH	-	6.5	8.3	1.8	-	-	-	-	-	-
	D	129.0	2.0	16.8	-	-	-	0.02	-	-	-
	DH	3.0	43.0	46.3	4.8	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Classificatory BDS	-	49.0	37.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	ZDS	-	9.0	33.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Classificatory DHB	1.0	28.0	34.6	-	-	-	0.02	-	-	-
(d) Other households outside the village											
	D	37.0	22.0	-	-	-	-	1.77	-	-	-
	D	10.0	38.0	3.9	-	-	-	0.20	-	-	-
	DH	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.20	-	-	-
	DD	-	32.0	16.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

* Where F = father and therefore ZH = sister's husband etc.
M = mother
H = husband
W = wife
B = brother
Z = sister
S = son
D = daughter

Outside the village Linton had frequent contact with his father's father's brother's son, a Sasembata man who was employed, for part of the survey, as a domestic servant in Popondetta. Linton visited him periodically, taking subsistence foods and received in return gifts of cash and various goods, such as sacks and lime, which were readily available to his partner. Shortly after the man returned to his home village Linton and his wife spent several days with him, helping to clear the site for a food garden. In such a case the interactions are determined more by similarity of age and interests than considerations of kinship.

Palminus. Palminus and his family moved to Sivepe about four years ago, having previously lived in Binduta. Since this latter village is only ten minutes' walk away he is able to maintain contact, in the form of exchanges of subsistence produce, with several kinsmen there. Within Sivepe his network of exchanges follows a rather unorthodox pattern in that it is oriented primarily towards members of another clan, Seho. Among his own lineage relations are strained and interaction is largely restricted to the receipt of labour services from junior members. Equally, within the clan he only transacts frequently with one man, a member of his own age group and progressive like himself, with interests ranging from cash cropping to non-traditional forms of entertainment.

Palminus' mother was a Seho woman and his genealogical relationships with that clan are based on this connection. Among the Seho people he interacts largely with members of his own generation - cross-cousins - his house being situated between two of them. Yet the intensity of contact is not simply a function of the location of his house. In general Palminus maintains better rapport with this clan than does the head of his own lineage and he is actively exploiting this fact in seeking support for his aspiration to become the most influential member of Jegase clan in Sivepe.[1] The greatest volume of his exchanges with the Seho people was effected with the household of the most influential member of the local branch. This man is not a neighbour of Palminus yet each continually considers the other's needs; for example, the former was the principal recipient of sago distributed by Palminus during the dry season while, towards the end of the coffee flush, he invited Palminus to pick in his garden because he had been unable to harvest all the coffee himself.

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[1] Rimoldi: personal communication.

437 Palminus was able, like Linton, to establish an exchange relationship with a man
employed in Popondetta, in this case a distant relative of his wife, working as a carpenter.
On his occasional visits he took him food, receiving in return cash and storebought goods.
Apart from this case, however, Palminus' transactions are almost entirely restricted to
[431] subsistence goods and services - food and labour in harvesting yams. Acquisitions amount
[765] to 62 per cent of all his subsistence produce transactions (compared with 54 per cent in
Linton's case), the greater proportion reflecting events following the death of one of
Palminus' sons early in the survey when gifts of food were received from a wide range
of kin during the week that he and his wife remained in their house.

[562] Gorukari. Like most women Gorukari transacts little apart from subsistence produce
and, in this, the substantial excess of disposals over acquisitions reflects her responsibility
for distributing plates of cooked food. Outside her own family her immediate responsibili-
ties are to her husband's ageing parents and their remaining dependent children who live
next door. While the two families frequently prepare their meals at the same hearth the
periodic sickness of the parents also involves Gorukari in providing food for them. In
addition she temporarily accommodated her husband's father's sister, a widow, and her
[431] children. This family appears to have had some difficulty in achieving subsistence[1] and
Gorukari frequently provided them with food. These gifts were acknowledged following
the widow's remarriage and departure from Sivepe.

Elsewhere within the village Gorukari exchanges produce primarily with women from her own age group, where the bond is one of common interest rather than of kinship. Outside the village she maintains contact with two of her natal kin - her mother, who lives about one hour's walk away, and her sister, married to a medical orderly at Saiho hospital. These periodic visits also enable Gorukari to take food to her husband's father's sister who is married into her mother's village.

Olga. Olga's exchanges follow a similar pattern to those of Gorukari. They involve, almost exclusively, subsistence produce, disposals of which account for 71 per cent of all transactions. Within the spouse's lineage frequent exchanges are effected with her son and his wife whose house is adjacent. Elsewhere major exchange relationships are maintained

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[1] See p.84.

437 with immediate kin and with individuals receiving acknowledged support from her. In the
first category are two daughters residing with their spouses' families (one in Sivepe and the
other in a neighbouring village) during the spouses' absence in wage employment. The
second comprises her brother's son and his wife, who resided briefly in Sivepe but were
without adequate food resources of their own, and her sister's daughter's daughter, previously
[431] cared for by Olga, plus the girl's present guardian. Finally, significant gifts of food were
received from a cross-cousin residing in another village.

Rodney Gill. With no significant food supplies of his own Rodney Gill only receives
subsistence produce and disposes of his one abundant resource, labour. His exchanges are
predominately with immediate kin - his brother and brother's wife residing next door -
[431] and they are the sole recipients of assistance in cash cropping activities. However, help
with subsistence tasks is given to, and gifts of food received from, a wider range of
individuals, all belonging to households located at his end of the village. Rodney Gill
has no important exchange relationships outside Sivepe.

437 Umbahapa. As an aged and partially lame widower Umbahapa is dependent on regular
437 gifts of food from his sister and a married daughter living next to him and he normally
431 disposes of little himself. This pattern was temporarily altered during the survey by the
737 decision to fell one of his sago palms. This resulted in assistance being received from,
and sago distributed to, a large number of villagers. In fact these transactions were only
nominally Umbahapa's since he had delegated to his sister's son, Liston, the responsibility
of organising the work and distributing the sago, while, prior to its distribution, the sago
was held in his sister's husband's house. Participation in this venture was determined by
individual need for food rather than kinship criteria.

Storebought goods, in particular an axe, provided the most important gifts from kin outside the village, such items being the ones he is least likely to obtain as a result of his own endeavours.

437 The cases discussed above outline the pattern of sustained interchanges among individual villagers. However, they do not indicate the whole range of an individual's close genealogical kin since the network of exchanges is directly influenced by considerations of distance and by the links established through marriage between the clan branches represented in the village. The first imposes severe restrictions on the movement of goods, particularly subsistence

437 produce, while the second results in sustained interaction with
affines at the probable expense of agnates living elsewhere. The
latent obligations to more distant kin are revealed on such occa-
sions as an unexpected visit Palminus received from his father's
[431] sister's son following the birth of Palminus' child. His embarrass-
ment at not having previously advised the man of the birth was only
compensated by his making an immediate gift of $2.

The facility with which kinship links can be drawn between most, if not all, of the villagers makes it difficult to identify significant, yet mutually exclusive, categories of exchange partners. Exchanges between two individuals might, for example, be variously interpreted as being between neighbours, affines or age-mates. The most important economic connection is between an individual's families of orientation and of procreation, where the two households are located adjacent to each other. Although each maintains separate gardens, between such linked households there is a substantial, if variable, degree of inter-dependence and the network of exchanges may incorporate three generations.

437 Other major exchange relationships operate with affines, matri-
lateral and patrilateral kin and are typically restricted to members
561 of the individual's age group, for example, cross-cousin, wife's
brother and sister's husband. Such coeval links also extend to
[602] individuals with whom there is no apparent bond of kinship. Tradi-
tionally these links may have been restricted to fellow-initiates,
who were of both sexes and stood in a defined relationship where
[178] each referred to the others as nanamei.[1] Since the disappearance
of initiation ceremonies the connection is now of a more informal
nature, reflecting similarity of interests.

437 In effect, regular exchanges operate between members of one's
own generation, where partners may be drawn from a wide range of
602 kinship categories and with other generations in the case of primary
and secondary kin (see Table 10:18). Other large exchanges which
fall outside this pattern are mostly of a specific nature and
characterised by immediate reciprocation, as in the case of pigs
and sago-making. There is only limited evidence to suggest that
the movement of specific goods and services follows distinct
patterns, although those relating to the external sector do move
almost exclusively between primary kin. However, this fact cannot
be considered to indicate a different attitude to the ideal of
reciprocation on the part of those having direct access to cash
crops and money. Where an individual's family of orientation
renders assistance with processing coffee, it is normally without
cash crops of its own and where remittances are received from sons,

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[601] [1] Meaning 'my children', i.e. 'the children of whom I am one'.
See Williams 1930:180.

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brothers and husbands their dependents are normally being supported in the village.[1] Consequently, of the three categories of kin into which exchanges are grouped in Table 10:18, exchanges with the first (linked households, etc.) may be interpreted as expressing their degree of inter-dependence, with the second (cross-cousins, etc.) the intention of supporting alliances with members of other corporate groups, while only the third (all other) might be considered as a 'drain on resources' (in the sense of the goods and services not being reinvested for individual or group benefit). Nevertheless, most exchanges characterised by immediate reciprocation and equivalence fall in the last category and so, even in that case, the assumption is of questionable validity.

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[1] Of the $166.30 received in the form of remittances, about two-thirds came from primary kin while about three-quarters came from individuals with dependents being supported in the village.

Chapter 11

Exchange patterns: Inonda

437 The nature and volume of transactions

[431] The Inonda people carry out exchanges of subsistence produce, labour services and items derived from trade stores not only with each other but also with people from other villages, with settlers and with kinsmen or friends who are wage earners. Reciprocation for a gift is not necessarily on the same occasion, or in the same quantity or of the same item. The exchanges effected by the 21 adult members of the village were recorded simultaneously with the data on activity patterns, a total of 2,782 man-days being covered.

(a) Non-monetary sector

438 [262] (i) Subsistence produce. Table 11:1 shows the total amounts of each item given and received by the villagers in all non-monetary transactions. The dominant position of taro in the horticultural system and the diet is emphasised by its role in exchanges. The economic importance of the sparsely-populated grasslands and hill areas is also clear from the fact that wild pig is the next most important item after taro; other hunted produce and fish are also significant. Some allowance should be made for the fact that pig carcasses, weighing up to 200 lbs are often given whole rather than after the removal of the gut and bones.[1] In addition, portions of meat frequently pass through a 'chain' of exchanges and are thus counted several times. This process occurs more rarely for vegetable produce. These qualifications, however, are not sufficient to diminish the significance of pigmeat in the exchange pattern. Sweet potato is the second most important crop (see Table 4:9) and the third most important item in subsistence transactions. Banana, sugar-cane, yam and pumpkin are the main subsidiary crops and are also significant in the exchange pattern. The comparatively small

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[224] [1] This practice is determined partly by the belief that in certain circumstances, such as when using a new gun, spear or new hunting dog, a hunter should not keep the prey to himself.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE [illegible]

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Table 11:1

Inonda: major items of non-monetary exchange over the whole survey period

	Acquisition			Disposal		
	Total (lbs)	%	Amount* received from researchers (lbs)	Total (lbs)	%	Amount* given to researchers (lbs)
A. Subsistence produce						
Taro	5,494	39	15	6,307	46	371
Xanthosoma	353	3	-	141	1	2
Sweet potato	1,419	10	2	1,235	9	69
Yam	406	3	2	457	3	13
Pitpit	160	1	-	221	2	6
Banana	1,098	8	6	528	4	18
Pumpkin	521	4	-	410	3	18
'Soup'	261	2	-	266	2	9
Sago	263	2	4	135	1	1
Coconut	324	2	5	416	3	25
Sugar-cane	546	4	19	662	5	73
Other cultivated produce	833	6	4	631	5	31
Fish	165	1	-	172	1	9
Wallaby	313	2	-	241	2	2
Wild pig	1,461	11	-	1,836	13	2
Other produce of hunting, fishing and foraging	156	1	-	151	1	3
Other	160	1	-	48	-	-
Total	13,933	100	57	13,957	101	550
B. Services	Hours	%		Hours	%	
Labour, cash sector	52.8	8		53.1	12	
Labour, subsistence sector	578.4	92		386.8	88	
Total	631.2	100		439.9	100	
C. Store-bought goods	$	%	$	$	%	
Rice	35.34	20	0.86	12.94	31	
Tinned fish	13.12	8	0.40	6.16	15	
Tinned meat	11.02	6	1.58	1.30	3	
Bread	4.46	3	0.56	3.08	8	
Tea	1.84	1	0.26	1.14	3	
Sugar	4.90	3	0.30	1.62	4	
Flour	1.20	1	-	0.90	2	
Soft drinks	1.34	1	0.38	0.90	2	
Sweet biscuits	4.12	2	0.20	1.94	5	
Prepared refreshments	2.36	1	1.60	0.54	1	
Alcoholic drinks	8.38	5	2.44	-	-	
Trade tobacco	19.66	11	14.90	2.26	6	
Cigarettes	1.46	1	0.14	0.14	-	
Other foodstuffs	2.44	1	1.06	0.36	1	
Clothing	39.60	23	25.20**	6.70	16	
Other personal goods	9.42	5	8.18	0.24	1	
Household goods	8.62	5	5.94	0.04	-	
Tools and equipment	4.90	3	1.06	0.70	2	
Total	174.18	100	65.04	40.96	100	

* Included in total.
** Includes parcel of clothing valued at $21.54 from research worker in Australia.

438 proportion formed by pitpit is due to the fact that it was only in season during the first twelve weeks of the survey (see Table 11:4). Yams, Xanthosoma and sago are similarly seasonal and in certain weeks are more prominent than shown here. Of the other cultivated products, areca nuts are important although they amount to only 93 lbs acquired and 39 lbs disposed over the survey. One lb consists of approximately 24 areca nuts, so that about 86 nuts were acquired and 36 nuts disposed of by the village as a whole each week. In other words, there is a regular traffic in areca. Inonda people are dependent on outsiders for the nut because the palm does not grow well on their land.

It is noteworthy that the total acquisitions and disposals of subsistence items are very close to balancing - the excess of the former amounts to only 76 lbs out of a total of 14,000 lbs. However, the reservation should be made that the balance is achieved by equating all items on the basis of weight, and this does not exactly reflect Orokaiva methods of calculation. It is, nevertheless, probable that the outflow of the most favoured foods - taro (800 lbs) and pigmeat (375 lbs) - helps to balance the inflow of services and storebought goods and that this is an expression of the Orokaiva ideal of reciprocity in relationships.

437 [4311] (ii) Labour services. The exchange of labour services is to some extent a matter of individual inclination. Where an obligation exists, it has not necessarily been incurred through an equivalent service, nor is reciprocation in this way essential - it may, instead, be through a gift of garden produce and obligations and reciprocations may be separated by a time-lag of a year. For this reason and others discussed below, the pattern of services over a period varies from individual to individual and acquisitions and disposals are not often in balance. In Table 11:1 the excess of acquisitions over disposals of labour services in the subsistence sector reflects large amounts of labour given by people from other villages, mostly young men staying for a few days or weeks with kin in Inonda. They contributed 42 per cent of subsistence services, in such tasks as house-building, sago-making and gardening. If it is assumed that people who are temporarily absent from Inonda follow the same work patterns as people temporarily resident, this apparent excess would be considerably reduced.

439 431 [123] (iii) Storebought goods. Table 11:1 also shows the values of goods derived from trade stores that are circulated through the gift exchange system. Thirty-seven per cent of the total value of acquisitions shown was in gifts from research workers. One-third of this was in the form of a parcel of clothing from a research worker in Australia and the rest was contributed during the survey. The most significant contributions were of trade tobacco, mosquito nets (shown as 'personal goods'), clothing and a suitcase given to the leading man for his journey to Port Moresby.

437 (c) Cash

Table 11:3 shows that the Inonda people disposed of slightly more cash than they received during the survey period, but when transactions with the researchers are excluded the figures are in almost exact balance. No attempt was made at the beginning of the survey to record cash-in-hand and savings, so no detailed balance sheet can be presented.

Table 11:3

Inonda: acquisition and disposal of cash over the whole survey period
($)

	Acquisition	Disposal
Total of cash	337.38	340.70
Including:		
Savings bank transfers	18.00	10.00
Transactions with researchers	6.60	9.94

432 Seasonal variations in the exchange patterns

In presenting the seasonal variations in exchange patterns (and in all subsequent analyses), transactions in the two systems of gift and monetary exchange have been amalgamated. The effect of this amalgamation is greater for non-traditional than for most subsistence products. Thus, the Inonda people purchased rice worth $21.40 during the survey. Of the $12.94 worth of rice which individuals disposed of in gifts, $8.94 went to other Inonda people (Table 11:24)A and this forms only 16 per cent of total acquisitions of rice. For non-traditional items as a group, gifts received by the villagers from each other amount to only 7 per cent of the total value of acquisitions.

438 (1) Subsistence produce and storebought goods. Tables 11:4 and 11:5 show the seasonal variations in the exchange patterns by presenting the mean weekly amounts of various items acquired and disposed for each of the recording periods. The composition of the pattern may vary considerably from week to week during any season (see Figs.11:1 and 11:2). Thus, pigmeat formed 43 per cent (263 lbs) of acquisitions of subsistence items in week 4, but only 3 per cent (16 lbs) in week 6. Taro formed 32 per cent (191 lbs) and 65 per cent (349 lbs) respectively in the same weeks. However, the differences between the seasons as a whole have greater significance than intra-seasonal variations.

A,[i.e., Table 11:17; see Category 462, p. 285--Analyst]

438 daily exchanges of products between villagers when they have a temporary surplus, rather than a continuing specialisation. [433] Although some individuals do tend to concentrate more time than others on certain crops - as the widower in Inonda does with yams[1] - [574] surpluses (and their counterpart, shortages) are frequently the result as much of chance as of policy. Thus, near the end of the dry season a settler held a feast at short notice to mark the end [431] of a dispute with an Inonda man. The Inonda people decided not to make a return presentation at the same time since they had only sago available and would be humiliated if they offered this in return for the others' taro. In the event, contributions by people from the settlement blocks and other villages included more banana and sweet potato than taro.

The circulation operates at several different levels: the level of the village itself, that of a context which is more or less restricted to the occurrence of close kin and which, except perhaps for some affines, is only about three miles in radius, and finally the broader district level, which embraces greater environmental differences and is the sphere of operation of the comparatively [436] long-distance hawkers from both the coastal and mountain areas. At [178] this level, the volume of exchange is small; it is not necessarily based on kinship or even friendship ties and it is now almost entirely monetised.

437 (ii) Labour services. Labour assistance in the subsistence sector shows a pronounced seasonality (see Table 11:6). This is 221 largely due to the fact that 46 per cent of all the assistance received in the subsistence sector during the survey was in sago-making and all of this occurred during three weeks in the dry season.

Table 11:6

Inonda: mean weekly transactions of labour services during each recording period

(hours)

Labour services		Period		
		I	II	III
Cash sector	Acquisition	1.9	4.0	1.5
	Disposal	2.5	1.6	2.6
Subsistence sector	A	8.3	67.6	10.5
	D	11.5	38.8	4.7
Total	A	10.2	71.6	12.0
	D	14.0	40.4	7.3

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[1] Cf. pp.166-7. A

A,[See Category 512, pp. 166-167--Analyst]

437 221 The major part is received from Inonda people but a significant proportion comes from outsiders, mainly young unmarried kinsmen from other villages. One tree will normally provide enough food reserves for several families, so not everyone makes sago during the year and assistance, whether from within or outside the village, may not be repaid until the following year and may not necessarily be in sago-making. This is the main reason for the imbalance noted above[1] between services received and given. Assistance in some less time-consuming tasks is also seasonal. The hunting and butchering of game is concentrated almost entirely into the feasting season (period I), whereas assistance in tasks connected with garden establishment occurs mainly in the dry season and the beginning of the wet. The mean weekly acquisition of services in tasks related to the monetary sector was highest in the dry season, when one man received help in establishing a coffee garden. Monetary sector services in the other periods were primarily in maintenance of mature coffee trees.

434 432 (iii) Cash. There is a sharp rise in the mean amount of cash acquired through the three recording periods (see Table 11:7), reflecting increased income from marketing in periods II and III and from the construction contract in period III. These factors are a result not of seasonal influences but of exploiting chance opportunities. Weekly expenditure also increased, but much more slowly. Even so, there is a rapid turnover of cash. The excess weekly expenditure in period I is derived largely from cash acquired in paid employment and trade store sales immediately before the survey began. The excess in period II results from gifts of cash and cash crop sales in the weeks prior to the start of the period. The rise in expenditure in period II reflects seasonal purchases of flour but the increased spending in period III was mainly on clothing.

Table 11:7

Inonda: mean weekly transactions of cash during each recording period

($)

		Period		
		I	II	III
Cash	Acquisition	5.11	10.05	26.20
	Disposal	9.65	12.47	14.75

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[1] Page 235.

The exchange patterns of households

(a) The circulation of goods and services

Tables 11:8 and 11:9 present the patterns of exchange of the main groups of items for each household. The different sizes of households and the different numbers of days for which information was collected have been taken into account in calculating transacting rates.

It is clear from these tables that there is little difference between most households in the rate of acquisitions and disposals of garden and forest produce and the differences are even less when acquisitions and disposals are added and viewed as total turnover. Household 18, which contains the widow Embogi, is outstanding. This reflects partly the lack of a permanent male resident, whose lower average rate of transaction would reduce the general household level (as in the other households). More significantly, it reflects the fact that Embogi spends more time in subsistence gardening than any other villager[1] and also receives much assistance in gardening. The product of gardens made by others on her behalf is in excess of her own household's needs and so is distributed. A further factor is that, as a widow with only permissive rights to live in the village, generosity in distribution helps to ensure continued acceptance of her position. This applies to household 24 as well, which also gives more than the average amount. Household 24 receives less than average amounts of garden foods but has the highest rate of acquisitions of products of hunting and fishing. The household head is father-in-law of the two most successful hunters in Inonda and often receives gifts of whole carcasses from them. The widower in household 19 does not cook meals and disposes of very little garden produce.[2] For the same reason, he receives only cooked meat in comparatively small quantities rather than whole carcasses. There are wider differences in the patterns of exchange of hunting and fishing products, reflecting in large part the amount of time devoted to hunting by the household heads. The more skilful hunters spend more time in this way than other people. It is noteworthy that household 20 disposes of most game and little garden produce, indicating a degree of specialisation that is recognised by the other villagers, several of whom give this man cartridges with which to hunt on their behalf.

The main influence on the patterns of labour services is sago-making: the three men who harvested trees in 1964 (households 16,

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[1] See pp.167-8.

[2] It was discovered too late for recording that his son's wife often harvests in the widower's garden.

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Table 10:18

Sivepe: the network of exchanges among kin
(derived from the data presented in Table 10:17)

		Total		Major exchanges*								
				By category								
				Linked households, other primary kin and dependent households			MBS/D, FZS/D, WB, ZH (incl. classificatory)			All other		
		Quantity	% of all exchanges	Quantity	%	No. of partners	Quantity	%	No. of partners	Quantity	%	No. of partners
Subsistence produce	A	2,779.0	85	1,123.4	40	22	480.0	17	8	1,175.6	42	25
(lbs)	D	2,270.0	60	1,172.2	52	21	291.7	13	7	806.1	36	31
Labour subsistence	A	559.5	90	243.3	43	12	76.4	14	2	239.8	43	17
(hrs)	D	151.8	88	95.2	63	5	17.0	11	2	39.6	26	5
Labour cash	A	74.9	91	60.7	81	3	2.0	3	1	12.2	16	6
(hrs)	D	16.3	83	6.0	37	1	8.0	49	1	2.3	14	1
Storebought goods	A	17.05	76	3.46	20	11	2.92	17	2	10.67	63	11
($)	D	5.31	75	0.91	17	7	2.80	53	1	1.60	30	3
Cash	A	28.85	80	2.35	10	2	16.00	67	1	5.50	23	3
($)	D	16.00	84	-	-	-	16.00	100	1	-	-	-

* Defined as where the quantity exchanged exceeds 5 per cent of the total in at least one category.

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Table 11:8

Inonda: transactions of main categories of subsistence produce and services, by household

(quantity per man-week)

Household	Garden and forest produce (lbs)		Hunting and fishing produce (lbs)		Labour services (hours)	
	A	D	A	D	A	D
16*	31.7	28.5	4.4	1.4	2.5	1.2
17*	29.1	27.4	3.9	6.6	1.8	0.6
18	50.3	59.9	4.3	1.4	1.6	1.8
19	21.0	7.8	0.3	4.8	0.3	2.3
20	29.5	22.1	3.7	20.1	0.3	1.6
21*	35.2	31.6	6.5	4.9	2.6	1.0
22	11.2	21.6	4.1	-	-	-
23*	32.5	26.5	6.0	9.7	2.6	1.3
24	17.9	36.6	11.7	1.9	0.6	0.2
Mean for 9 households	29.7	29.0	5.2	6.3	1.6	1.1
Mean for cash cropping households	32.0	28.5	5.1	5.3	2.4	1.0
Mean for non-cash cropping households	26.6	29.7	5.3	7.8	0.5	1.2

* Cash cropping households.

17 and 21) all received more assistance in total than the average, while households which assisted with sago-making, such as households 19 and 20, disposed of more in total. However, household 23 received assistance in house construction and subsistence gardening but not in sago-making. In addition to receiving help with sago-making, household 21 received assistance in establishing a coffee garden. Most of this assistance was given by his mother, the widow in household 18. The widower gave most assistance per week (as well as a considerable quantity of hunting produce), in return for the surplus of vegetable produce he received.

Acquisition and disposal rates for storebought goods and cash also differ little from one household to another. Household 22, although present only during period I, records a comparatively high rate of transactions for food and stimulants. While resident in the village the head spent several weeks working for a settler and two weeks away on a fishing expedition. It is probable that his gardens suffered accordingly, making considerable purchases of rice necessary. [556] The man belongs to the traditionally subordinate clan branch, Jego'undi, and, being neither a cash cropper nor a particularly influential person, his circumstances may have provided an incentive

Table 11:9

Inonda: transactions of cash and main categories of storebought goods, by household
(mean amount transacted per man-month in $)

Household	Cash		Food and stimulants		Household and working equipment	Personal goods
	A	D	A	D	A	A
16*	2.12	2.95	1.34	0.24	0.16	0.65
17*	1.19	1.26	1.54	0.27	0.14	0.97
18	0.07	0.39	1.35	0.30	0.23	0.44
19	0.23	0.38	0.90	0.02	0.22	0.18
20	3.12	3.76	2.94	0.30	0.37	0.70
21*	3.20	2.89	3.08	0.43	0.40	0.20
22	2.12	2.93	3.14	0.62	0.24	1.04
23*	11.45	12.33	4.22	0.70	1.71	3.99
24	3.97	1.44	2.20	0.15	0.15	0.01
Mean for 9 households	3.39	3.53	2.32	0.34	0.43	0.99
Mean for cash cropping households	4.23	4.64	2.41	0.39	0.56	1.38
Mean for non-cash cropping households	2.26	2.01	2.20	0.26	0.25	0.45

* Cash cropping households.

[556]

to demonstrate wealth not only by buying rice but also by distributing it frequently. This household is second only to the entrepreneur's (household 23) in its level of transactions of storebought goods. In contrast, it acquired relatively little garden produce and a below-average amount of game and fish per week and it took no part in the exchange of services, reflecting the weakness of its links with the Andirihaha residents. Household 23 has the highest rate of acquisition of personal goods. Apart from purchases (see Table 11:11) this household received the clothing parcel from Australia. Household 17 also has quite a high rate of acquisition of personal goods. During the survey, the husband and wife had a quarrel in which most of their clothing was destroyed and had to be replaced - much of it by gifts from the wife's sister, who is married to a plantation labourer.

Over a given period cash croppers receive more of most classes of items than non-cash croppers, with the exception of fish and game. Non-cash croppers tend to dispose of more subsistence goods and services, but cash croppers dispose of larger amounts of monetary items, admittedly largely due to the high level attained by the entrepreneur in household 23. Apart from this household, there is nothing to distinguish individual households which rely on commercial crops for their income from households relying on other sources.

592 437 [556] In the same way, there appears to be little relationship between the levels of transactions in most categories and either the rank of household heads or the total area cultivated by households. Where possibly significant differences in the rates of acquisitions and disposals appear, they are mostly explainable in terms of the various factors mentioned above. However, as regards rank, it is striking that the leading man's household is first in its rate of acquisition of most items, though only second for taro and pigmeat. It leads in acquisitions of both cash and subsistence sector services and is second in its rate of disposals of taro, banana, pigmeat and subsistence services.

It appears, then, that high status confers both material responsibilities and benefits. The main advantage accruing to the entrepreneur seems to be that he needs to spend less time than others in gardening and the time thus saved is directed into cash-producing activities.[1] This consideration applies only to the leading man and transactions according to the other rankings do not fall into a noticeable order.

511 (b) The expenditure of cash

592 [432] Table 11:10 shows the pattern of purchases by each household during each recording period and over the whole survey. While there are considerable differences between households in the total value of purchases and a wide range in the proportion of cash income devoted to commodity purchases, there is less difference in the actual composition of the expenditure patterns (see Table 11:11).

For all but one household (which has a total expenditure below $3), food and stimulants account for over half of the purchases. Rice forms between 7 and 16 per cent of the total of all except the Jego'undi household, the proportion varying little over the survey. Flour on the other hand, was bought only during period II, when it formed almost one-quarter of all purchases and the proportions of tinned meat and fish in particular were reduced. The proportion formed by clothing and personal goods is also reduced at this time. All households, except the widow's, purchase flour, the amount bearing no relation to income.

None of the households containing the older people (18, 19 and 24) bought clothing, while only one (24) bought any other personal goods or tools and equipment. Apart from these, the other non-cash cropping households (20 and 22) also spend small proportions on these categories and on household goods compared with the proportions of expenditure allocated by the cash cropping households (16, 17, 21 and 23). Clothing accounts for one-quarter of the expenditure of three of the latter households.

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[1] See pp.161-2.

deposited in the savings account but was kept as cash-in-hand. None of the household's expenditure was in the form of gifts; most was in impersonal transactions and the rest in commercial exchanges with village people. 511

Household 16 has a slightly higher income than household 24, but three times the expenditure, so that its excess of income over expenditure at January 1965 was only $4.78. The main sources of income were sales of coffee, marketing and labouring. The wife's mother received 10 per cent of the household income in the form of gifts from close kin. 434

Household 20 also has a comparatively high level of income and expenditure and an excess of income of only $2.82. Just over one-half was from gambling and a further one-sixth from marketing; this household has no cash crops.

Household 21, which is establishing coffee but derived no income from cash crops, has a gross income of $48.60 and an excess over expenditure of $7.04, which was the second highest in the village. This was derived from a wider range of sources and was more evenly distributed among them than the income of most other households. Over one-fifth was received in gifts, mostly from the wife's relatives, many of whom are wage earners.

Household 17 owns 107 coffee trees but sales of coffee were less important as a source of its income than labouring, even though labouring on the main road occupied only one week early in the survey and labouring on the contract gang ten days during December. [511] Expenditure by households 16, 17, 20 and 21 was mostly on tax payment and store purchases, but 17 per cent of the expenditure of household 20 and 5 per cent of household 21 comprised gambling losses. [525]

The remaining three households had a low level of income and an excess of expenditure for the eleven months. Household 18 received its entire income as gifts from wage earners and fellow villagers, as did household 19, apart from a small sum from the researchers. Expenditure was exclusively in purchasing, but the widower (household 19) lost $1 while washing his clothes in a stream. Household 21 was present for only the first 13 weeks of the survey. Its income was derived from labouring for a settler on the Girua block and from sales of subsistence produce to villagers. Expenditure, which exceeded income by $4.04, was mostly in trade store purchases. The household head did not pay the council tax and was later jailed for three months. After leaving Inonda, he continued to work occasionally for settlers but no details of his income were collected.

The majority of cash transactions are with organisations: this applies to expenditure even more than to income. 437 Many of the transactions with villagers represent payments for specific goods and 434 services that are usually related to the cash sector, such as 511

571 assistance in picking coffee, rather than to the traditional net-
434 work of exchange. The relative significance of the different
sources of income and directions of expenditure varies considerably
[437] between cash croppers as a group and non-cash croppers. The
sources of income and directions of expenditure for the 11 months
period are shown for these two groups in Table 11:14.

434 It is important to bear in mind in interpreting Table 11:14 that it represents a very small population and particular individuals have a great influence on the figures. In addition, whereas 10 of the people in cash cropping households were resident for at least half of the survey period, only 8 of the people in non-cash cropping households were and only 3 of these latter were under 40 years of age. Thus, opportunities for acquiring cash income were quantitatively less for the non-cash cropping group. A further distorting factor is the role of the researchers in causing increases in income and, perhaps, in substituting for expenditure in the cases of tobacco and clothing for instance. However, any attempt to exclude extraordinary sources of income would make the levels of expenditure difficult to explain, and the data for income from all sources are given.

Cash croppers receive 71 per cent of the total income of the
village and account for 78 per cent of the cash disposals. However,
sales of cash crops account for only 8 per cent of total income and,
with the OCGS dividend, for only 13 per cent of cash croppers' in-
[431] come. By contrast, contracts between the Administration and the
entrepreneur account for 19 per cent of total village income. Some
$43, or 6 per cent of total village income, is received from the
entrepreneur by other villagers in the form of payments and gifts.

Small gifts and loans are next in importance to the entrepreneur's
activities as a source of income for the village as a whole. The
cash croppers acquired most of this money, but it is relatively
more significant for non-cash croppers, owing to their lower level
of income. The same is true of marketing, which yields 11 per cent
[525] of total income, and, to a lesser extent, of paid employment, which
is more evenly divided between the two groups. Gambling winnings
came to the same amount as income from cash crops but, when losses
are taken into account, gambling is rather less rewarding although
it still accounts for 6 per cent of village income. Gifts from
wage earners comprise 13 per cent of the village income; such gifts
formed over one-third of the income of non-cash croppers, but only
5 per cent of cash croppers' income. The figures suggest these
gifts are made particularly to help relatives who have no income
from cash crops. It is noteworthy in this context that, of the
$16.50 received by cash croppers from wage earners within the District, $14.60 was received by the household that is only now
establishing a coffee garden and as yet, derives no income from it.

437 The exchange of labour services

476 [460] Table 11:15 presents the detailed composition of labour services given and received by the Inonda people. These services have been discussed in general,[1] particularly with reference to their seasonality. It is worth emphasising here the comparatively small extent of mutual collaboration in work. With some 17,000 working hours available (on the arbitrary basis of 6 man-hours for each of the 2,782 man-days on which exchange data were collected), less than 450 hours were actually spent in assisting others, either in or outside the village, although a few more hours were spent working together in communal tasks such as building the copra drier and chapel.

As was pointed out, 46 per cent of the acquisitions of labour assistance in subsistence tasks is in sago-making. There are two [222] main reasons for this. Firstly, it requires several days of intensive and exhausting labour in order to beat the starchy pith from the felled trunk before it spoils in the hot, moist climate and before wild pigs can get at the opened trunk at night. Secondly, a single tree provides enough food (supplemented by garden produce) to support several families for some weeks and the produce of a [462] single tree is distributed by the rightholder(s) particularly to those who assist in its preparation. Due to the exhausting nature of the task, men provide the bulk of the assistance. There is no clear pattern of kinship groups operating: assistance may be requested and received from the immediate family or from among patrilateral, matrilateral and affinal kin. Assistance received in sago-making exceeds disposals by 93.4 hours, reflecting an inflow from other villages. This was received mostly from two young Sewa men, who also contributed over one-third of the total assistance received in house construction.

Tasks involved in the construction of houses account for about 10 per cent of disposals and 15 per cent of acquisitions of all subsistence services. This is undoubtedly higher than it would otherwise be owing to the reconstruction of the village. Even so, the amount of assistance given in the process of re-building is probably understated, as much occurred outside the recording periods. The bulk of the construction services fell into periods [342] I and II and the move was completed by the beginning of period III. One-third of the assistance in construction was in making roof-sheets from sago leaves. [824]

About one-quarter of both acquisitions and disposals of subsistence services is in garden tasks - mainly fencing, clearing and planting taro. In most of these there is an excess of acquisitions,

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[1] See pp.235-44.

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Table 11:15

Inonda: the type and volume of labour services transacted during each recording period
(hours)

	Period I (12 weeks)	Period II (6 weeks)	Period III (8 weeks)	Total (26 weeks)
	Acquisition			
Clearing	4.0	12.5	19.8	36.3
Fencing	10.0	34.4	-	44.4
Planting	10.1	14.0	22.9	47.0
Weeding	3.0	4.2	2.2	9.4
Harvesting and collecting forest products	-	3.0	7.6	10.6
Sago-making	-	263.7	-	263.7
Hunting and butchering	35.4	2.0	7.3	44.7
Construction	17.3	72.1	3.4	92.8
Household	8.8	-	21.7	30.5
Sub-total: subsistence	88.6	405.9	84.9	579.4
Coffee cultivation	10.0	17.7	6.5	34.2
Cocoa cultivation	-	-	-	-
Marketing	0.2	6.0	1.2	7.4
Purchasing	-	-	4.2	4.2
Entrepreneurial, incl. storework	7.0	-	-	7.0
Sub-total: cash	17.2	23.7	11.9	52.8
Total	105.8	429.6	96.8	632.2
	Disposal			
Clearing	12.0	0.5	4.0	16.5
Fencing	10.0	22.4	-	32.4
Planting	8.0	4.5	18.1	30.6
Weeding	3.0	10.2	-	13.2
Harvesting and collecting forest products	-	3.0	2.5	5.5
Sago-making	-	170.3	-	170.3
Hunting and butchering	61.4	2.0	1.3	64.7
Construction	17.3	19.7	3.4	40.4
Household	4.6	-	8.6	13.2
Sub-total: subsistence	116.3	232.6	37.9	386.8
Coffee cultivation	10.0	6.5	15.2	31.7
Cocoa cultivation	11.0	-	-	11.0
Marketing	0.2	-	-	0.2
Purchasing	-	3.3	5.4	8.7
Entrepreneurial, incl. storework	1.5	-	-	1.5
Sub-total: cash	22.7	9.8	20.6	53.1
Total	139.0	242.4	58.5	439.9

437 476 again reflecting assistance given by young people from outside the village. In addition to the two Seva men, whose help was requested by the entrepreneur, a young married couple came from Kendata village to assist household 17. These were the children of the sister of the household head's wife, who is also from Kendata.

Assistance in hunting and butchering of game shows marked seasonality, falling almost entirely into period I. This reflects the concentration of feasting in the same period, when men will request the help of those noted for their skill in hunting to provide the necessary meat.

Assistance in household tasks such as collecting water and cooking is mostly given by visitors, particularly women, from outside the village (see Table 11:16). The widow, however, received considerable help from two villagers when she made about 20 tapa cloths. Household assistance accounts for only 5 per cent of the subsistence services.

437 Most cash sector services are given in establishing or tending commercial crops, particularly the pruning and weeding of coffee gardens, which accounts for 55 per cent of the time disposed and 39 per cent of the time acquired. One man received assistance from close kin (his mother and sister) in clearing and staking out a new coffee garden.[1] One-fifth of the labour given was in weeding cocoa on a settlement block across the Girua River, reflecting an obligation incurred by one householder who had married the settler's step-daughter. Assistance received by the trade store owner in operating his store and in marketing other produce accounts for most of the other services in the cash sector. Labour assistance in the cash sector accounts for only 12 per cent of all services given, but assistance in the main task, maintenance of coffee, [433] exceeds that given in many subsistence operations and equals the amount given in hunting services. Thus, although the cash sector remains in some ways (as in the circulation of cash itself) peripheral to the village economy, it is integrated to the extent that it provides a recognised channel for meeting obligations through labour services.[2] In some cases, the receipt of assistance requires a return gift of cash, such assistance being one of the few sources of cash income available for old people or for women. In other cases, as with the settler's son-in-law, assistance in the cash sector is a means of meeting a traditional obligation. In sum,

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[1] See p.246.

[584] [2] Crocombe and Hogbin (1963:81, footnote), referring to assistance given to the Girua block settler by his son-in-law, point out that traditionally a prospective groom would assist his father-in-law with house-building or garden clearance.

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Table 11:16

Inonda: labour service transactions with non-residents

a. By household

House-hold	Acquisition		Disposal	
	Total labour services (hrs)	% of total from non-residents	Total labour services (hrs)	% of total to non-residents
16	178.5	58	87.9	50
17	101.5	43	31.6	90
18	44.9	4	49.8	10
19	7.3	55	58.5	-
20	14.5	14	84.9	4
21	129.0	7	47.7	6
22	-	-	0.8	-
23	132.1	69	69.1	4
24	23.4	-	9.6	10
Total	631.2	40	439.9	20

b. By activity

	Acquisition		Disposal	
	Total hours	% from non-residents	Total hours	% to non-residents
Clearing	36.3	83	16.5	64
Planting	47.0	43	30.6	7
Weeding	9.4	23	13.2	38
Harvesting and collecting forest products	10.6	67	5.5	-
Sago-making	263.7	39	170.3	6
Hunting and butchering	44.7	13	64.7	45
Construction	92.8	54	40.4	7
Household	29.5	75	13.2	20
Sub-total*	578.4	42	386.8	16
Coffee cultivation	34.2	4	31.7	32
Cocoa cultivation	-	-	11.0	100
Purchasing	4.2	-	8.7	38
Entrepreneurial	7.0	79	1.5	-
Marketing	7.4	81	0.2	-
Sub-total	52.8	25	53.1	46
Total	631.2	40	439.9	20

* Includes fencing services which were not exchanged with non-residents.

437 operations in the cash sector are conducted, in part at least, according to traditional attitudes.

437 476 Table 11:16 gives details of labour assistance received from and given to non-residents. We have already referred to the low degree of collaboration in labour practised by the Inonda people and this table shows that 40 per cent of all the services received is from non-residents - mainly young people invited by specific Inonda households to assist either in specific short-term tasks such as house-construction and sago-making or in general tasks such as gardening and household chores. Little is contributed by people from nearby villages compared with that given by those from more distant ones who come to live in Inonda for several days or weeks. The young men who came to assist household 23 also helped household 16 in sago-making. Most of the labour assistance given by households 16 and 17 is to non-residents, primarily to kin at Ijika and on the Girua settlement block, and it included work on garden clearance, hunting and maintenance of coffee and cocoa trees. Almost half of that in activities relating to the cash sector is given to non-residents, but less than one-sixth of subsistence sector services goes to non-residents.

Assistance by non-residents in sago-making accounts for 41 per cent of all services received from them and it forms one-fifth of all the labour invested in the task. Non-residents also account for 6 per cent of the total labour input in construction of houses, but their contribution in other tasks is quantitatively insignificant although it may be of considerable value as, for instance, in establishing a garden quickly to benefit from favourable weather conditions. Thus, households which have suitable kinship connections and are in a position to provide hospitality may derive considerable benefit by inviting young kinsmen to stay with them. A further implication is that the presence of young men who are not tied by material requirements to their village of origin means that there is, to some extent, a flexible reserve of labour which can be drawn upon at short notice by people over a considerable area.

The exchange of goods and services by sex

438 462 562 The breakdown of the totals for the whole survey according to sex reveals that women are responsible for the bulk of the transactions of subsistence items. Since they do much of the harvesting[1] and practically all the cooking, this is to be expected. Where items are exchanged uncooked, the men's proportion, of disposals at least, tends to be higher than otherwise; this is so, for instance, with bananas, coconut, sugar-cane and areca and it may reflect a

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[1] See pp.148-9.

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Table 11:17

Inonda: exchange of goods and services, by sex
(percentage distribution)

Category	Acquisition			Disposal		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Subsistence produce:			(lbs)			(lbs)
Taro	40	60	5,494	6	94	6,307
Sweet potato	31	69	1,419	17	83	1,235
Yam	36	64	406	19	81	457
Banana	42	58	1,098	34	66	553
Pumpkin	21	79	521	16	84	410
'Soup'	70	30	261	3	97	266
Coconut	48	52	326	56	44	431
Sugar-cane	49	51	546	33	67	662
Areca	42	58	93	36	64	39
Other garden produce	44	56	1,566	26	74	1,089
Fish	49	51	174	71	29	211
Wallaby	81	19	318	85	15	276
Pig	77	23	1,482	85	15	1,923
Other produce of hunting, fishing and foraging	55	45	157	46	54	179
Other weight items	-	100	160	48	52	48
Labour services:			(hrs)			(hrs)
Cash	98	2	52.8	67	33	53.1
Subsistence	88	12	578.4	78	22	386.8
Storebought goods:			($)			($)
Rice	58	42	56.74	33	67	12.94
Tinned fish	67	33	29.98	54	46	6.16
Tinned meat	66	34	17.00	54	46	1.30
Bread	82	18	17.50	89	11	3.08
Sugar	75	25	17.84	100	-	1.62
Salt	48	52	1.24	-	100	0.12
Trade tobacco	71	29	21.24	45	55	2.26
Other foodstuffs and cigarettes	82	18	69.34	67	33	5.80
Clothing	60	40	77.04	55	45	6.70
Cooking utensils	21	79	9.76	-	-	-
Other storebought goods	88	12	42.60	14	86	0.78
Cash	88	12	337.36	90	10	340.70

	Men	Women	Total
Number of days surveyed	1,443	1,339	2,782
Percentage of total	52	48	100

438 greater sharing of refreshments by men when working or travelling together. Men are most prominent, however, in transactions of the 462 produce of hunting and fishing, particularly wallaby, pig and fish. They engage in these activities more than women and a hunter will often give a whole pig or wallaby to a male relative, very rarely to a woman. The only instances recorded of gifts of carcasses to women were two young pigs caught in traps and a wallaby found dead (perhaps killed by a dog) on the roadway. As a rule, women are concerned in the distribution of meat only after an animal has been butchered. Women receive half the fish distributed, since young men returning from fishing expeditions almost invariably give part of the catch to close female relatives.

562 As men both earn and dispose of most of the money, it is to be expected that they acquire most of the storebought items - cooking utensils are the only significant exception, due to a single large purchase by one woman. Women are free to keep and dispose as they wish of cash acquired from gifts or in marketing (although they acquire less than men in this way) and husbands also give their [439] wives sums of money as presents or for specific purchases. Women account for a slightly larger share of disposals of some storebought goods, especially rice, reflecting the fact that in Inonda rice is becoming an accepted subsidiary food and may be included in the routine daily exchanges of cooked food. This is true of flour also [556] in the dry season. Rice is commonly prepared for visitors from other villages, perhaps to stress the wealth and 'modernity' of the Inonda people. As regards cash itself, most is handled by men.

437 Services are usually said to be given to household heads, so it is natural that most labour services are acquired by men. Those 462 acquired expressly by women are largely in the form of garden and household tasks and house construction. Almost all the labour 562 services relating to the cash sector are in cultivation of cash crops and, since women do not own commercial trees, are received by men, although the former do assist in their establishment and maintenance. In the subsistence sector, men own and control the exploitation of sago-palms and as sago-making accounts for 46 per cent of all assistance received in subsistence tasks, men are again dominant. They also provide most of the assistance in sago-making, and therefore account for the larger part of disposals of subsistence services.

The relationships between exchange and the socio-economic category of transacting partners

438 For each transaction, the name of the donor or recipient was recorded, together with his place of residence and occupational category - that is, whether he was a villager, a regular wage earner within the District, an ex-serviceman settler, or a wage earner resident outside the District. The categories are mutually

438 exclusive. Representatives of the external agencies were, for this purpose, grouped in a single category as 'organisations' (for example, the local government council, the army, the markets and trade stores). The term 'subsistence villager' includes those growing cash crops.

Table 11:18 shows how transactions of each category of goods and services are distributed among partners according to their occupational category. Items which deviate significantly (in most cases between 10 and 15 per cent) from the mean for their respective categories are shown separately.

As might be expected, the dominant position of villagers in exchanges of subsistence items is clear. For several items they account for 100 per cent of the total, although in the case of *Xanthosoma* only 34 per cent was acquired from this source. One household received several large gifts of the tuber from a New Guinea plantation labourer it had befriended, while some was also purchased at Popondetta market. Other noteworthy deviations include fish and game where significant quantities were sold at the market or given to settlers. In fact 34 per cent of the subsistence produce disposed to settlers comprised pigmeat, due, specifically, to a villager hunting on behalf of a relative on two occasions.

439 In contrast to the subsistence items, only a minority of non-traditional acquisitions is from villagers. Disposals of such items are smaller than acquisitions and only in a few cases - rice, tinned fish and clothing - is the total value above $6. Most disposals, particularly of food, are to other villagers. Most (over two-thirds) of the non-traditional items are acquired from trade stores (organisations). However, other people make significant contributions of some items: wage earners provide over half the alcoholic drinks, half the salt and considerable proportions of the rice, tinned fish and meat, and cigarettes, while the settlers are also a minor source of foodstuffs. The villagers clearly derive considerable benefit from the continued operation of the gift exchange system with these people, but most particularly with the wage earners who participate more fully in the monetary economy than settlers.

437 As regards labour services, almost all acquisitions are from subsistence villagers. Disposals in the subsistence sector naturally go largely to other villages although some help is given to settlers. In the cash sector, one-fifth of the labour services goes to settlers but none is received from them.

437 434 Most cash transactions are effected with organisations (52 per cent of acquisitions and 77 per cent of disposals) but exchanges with other villagers are of secondary importance. Settlers and wage earners also play an important role as sources of cash. The largest item in transactions between villagers consisted of $36 paid out by the entrepreneur to the six men who worked for him on

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437 the construction contract. Most of the rest was exchanged as gifts
434 or loans. Nine dollars was received from settlers as wages, the rest as gifts or loans. Most of the money received from wage earners was in the form of gifts from kin or friends, but a small amount was acquired early in the survey by the sale of coconuts and bananas to road-workers. Gambling winnings accounted for half the money received from settlers, and wages a further 25 per cent. A total of $12 was received by two people in remittances from a kinsman working in Madang. Acquisitions of cash from organisations are mostly in the form of payments by the Administration for goods and contracts, wages from the road-construction company and receipts from marketing, while disposals consist mostly of payments to trade stores and council tax.

432 In summary, it may be said that the bulk of exchanges of subsistence produce are with other villagers, except for sales of certain items at market and generally small exchanges with settlers retaining firm links with their village-based kin. Transactions of cash and storebought items are largely confined to organisations, other villagers and wage earners in the Popondetta sub-district. Labour services are almost wholly with other villagers, apart from a little assistance given to settlers.

438 The geographical dimensions of exchange (see Maps 2 and 5)[A]

437 (1) Subsistence produce. Tables 11:19-24 show the locations of partners (whether people or organisations) with whom Inonda people engaged in transactions during the survey. Most are villages, but they also include plantations, settlement blocks, mission stations and isolated trade stores. Tables 11:19 and 11:20 present the information for transactions of subsistence produce and reveal that almost two-thirds of acquisitions come from within the village itself and a further 25 per cent from people living within a radius of two miles. Seventy-one per cent of the disposals are to Inonda villagers and a further 18 per cent to people within two miles' radius. People or organisations (particularly the market) at a distance of five miles or more account for 11 per cent of both acquisitions and disposals. The distribution reflects primarily the closeness of contacts with kin, most of whom (apart from affines) live within two miles of the village at Ajoro (which moved its site during the survey and changed its name to Hahemo), Ijika, Mosou and the Girua settlement block. The relationship with the road construction workers' camp at Evundo followed the marriage of an Inonda girl to a New Guinean labourer. Links with places at a greater distance are also almost exclusively based on kinship. Several households have consanguineal ties with Sewa and Urio villages; two households in particular maintain close contacts with relatives in Ururu, Popondetta and Hohorita and another household with the wife's kin at Sangara plantation and in Kendata village

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A, [See Category 102, pp. 8, 52--Analyst]

437 438 [439] on the western slopes of Mt Lamington some 13 miles away (but 40 miles by road). As will be seen by comparing Tables 11:20 and 11:22, links between Inonda villagers and kin who are in wage employment in Ururu, Popondetta or on plantations are characterised by an outflow of garden produce from Inonda and an inflow of storebought foods, clothing and cash. Many of the disposals to people from places more than two miles distant take place in Inonda - a string bag of vegetables weighing 35 lbs or more is rarely carried for any great distance and this in itself ensures a comparatively low volume of transactions of vegetable produce over distances greater than three or four miles. One of the main items of long-distance exchange is *areca*, which Inonda people receive mostly from villages such as Sewa and Kendata higher on the slopes of Mt Lamington.

In general, about half the subsistence transactions with people in the above places is of taro, with sweet potato, banana, sugarcane and pigmeat also prominent. The bulk of acquisitions from kin in Urio, however, was of sweet potato, which had been planted as a 'catch crop' on land cleared for cocoa trees. The *Xanthosoma* bought at the market formed two-thirds of the acquisitions from Popondetta and fish and game formed almost half of the disposals, these going almost entirely to the market. Half of the acquisitions from Ururu (the mission station at Popondetta) were bananas - presumably such a crop is most easily grown by mission staff with little time (and land) at their disposal.

437 (ii) *Labour services*. The Inonda people receive over half of all labour services from their co-residents while most of the others came from only three other places: Sewa, where the entrepreneur's mother's sister's sons live; Ijika, where there is a branch of one of the component lineages of the Andiriha clan; and Kendata, the home village of the wife of one Inonda man (see Table 11:21). In the case of Sewa and Kendata, young people came to stay with and assist their Inonda kin for periods of a few weeks; the Sewa men assisted particularly in sago-making and construction, but also in some tasks related to the cash sector. Disposals of labour services are mainly to Inonda people but a considerable amount of assistance in cash sector tasks goes to kin in Ijika and to settlers on the Girua block. It should be noted that, although no labour assistance is received from settlers, Inonda people receive more commodities, both traditional and non-traditional, from the settlers than they give to them.

439 366 (iii) *Storebought goods*. The distribution of transacting partners for non-traditional goods differs greatly from that for garden and forest produce (see Table 11:22 and 11:23). The principal factor involved is the presence of trade stores as the main source of such goods. Thus, Popondetta, with several stores and within reasonably easy travelling distance, provides 40 per cent of Inonda people's total acquisitions of non-traditional goods,

Table 11:21

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Inonda: the geographical distribution of labour service transactions

Item	Acquisitions				Disposal			
	Labour, cash sector	Labour, subsistence sector	Total labour services		Labour, cash sector	Labour, subsistence sector	Total labour services	
Village	Percentage		hours	%	Percentage		hours	%
Inonda	54	56	350.7	56	54	83	351.2	80
Hahemo and Ajoro	-	1	7.5	1	-	1	4.0	1
Ijika	21	3	27.2	4	19	7	36.7	8
Mosou	-	1	7.2	1	-	3	10.5	2
Sewa	22	29	179.5	28	-	-	-	-
Evundo	-	-	2.0	-	-	-	-	-
Popondetta	3	-	1.5	-	-	1	2.7	1
Ururu	-	1	8.0	1	-	-	-	-
Kendata	-	8	47.6	8	-	-	-	-
Girua block	-	-	-	-	21	4	27.5	6
Banga	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.0	1
Jonita	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	-
Urio	-	-	-	-	6	-	3.3	1
Total	100	99	631.2	99	100	100	439.9	100
Total hours	52.8	578.4			53.1	386.8		

although for some items the proportion derived from people or stores in Popondetta is considerably smaller. These latter include items widely-stocked in small village stores and items that circulate within the gift exchange system, such as rice, tinned fish and sweet biscuits. The prominence of Evundo as a source of non-traditional items was due to the opening of a store there in mid-1964 rather than to the links established with the road labourers' encampment. At both Ijika and the Girua block are trade stores where purchases were made, although gift exchanges were also effected with kin living there. Goods obtained from Saiho, Sangara and Ururu are exclusively gifts from kin in wage employment rather than purchases. As a result of the distribution of stores and of wage earning kin, over 55 per cent of the non-traditional goods acquired by Inonda people come from distances greater than five miles. Disposals by Inonda

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431 people, however, are almost entirely in the gift exchange system and conform more closely to the pattern of disposals of garden and forest produce. They include the sale of copra to the co-operative society at Oro Bay.

● 437 [434] (iv) Cash. As with storebought goods, most cash is derived from Popondetta (see Table 11:24), largely in payments from administrative agencies for goods or labour. Over half that acquired from Inonda represents payments by the entrepreneur to those who worked on his contract. Similarly, acquisitions from Evundo and the Girua block are also in the form of payments, from employment by the construction company and a settler respectively. [431] The money from Oro Bay was from the sale of copra. Other cash is in the form of gifts, the main sources being villagers in Inonda and wage-earning kinsmen in Ururu, Popondetta, Saiho and Madang. Since expenditure is directed primarily to trade stores, the pattern of disposals of cash is very similar to that of acquisitions of non-traditional goods. Most goes to stores in Popondetta; disposals within Inonda include the payments to labour, purchases at the trade store and gifts. [651] Payments of tax to the Higaturu Local Government Council account for over one-tenth of all cash disposals. Transactions of significant sums of money are restricted to people or organisations

Table 11:24

Inonda: the geographical distribution of monetary transactions

	Acquisition		Disposal	
	Total $	Per cent	Total $	Per cent
Inonda	61.80	18	88.52	26
Ijika	3.10	1	9.10	3
Girua block	38.80	12	5.04	1
Mosou	4.94	1	5.60	2
Sewa	4.10	1	0.50	-
Evundo	17.20	5	28.06	8
Urio	-	-	5.92	2
Popondetta	169.40	50	152.30	45
Ururu	14.50	4	4.20	1
Jegerata	2.00	1	-	-
Saiho	4.00	1	-	-
Higaturu	-	-	38.00	11
Madang	12.00	4	-	-
Oro Bay	2.32	1	-	-
All other places*	3.20	1	3.46	1
Total	337.36	100	340.70	100

* Six in all for acquisitions; 8 in all for disposals.

from only a few places; however, small sums, perhaps only 10c or 20c, often change hands between kinsmen or friends from distant villages meeting in Popondetta and seem to serve the same function - of maintaining tenuous links - as exchanges of areca, sugar-cane or snacks bought in a store or hotel.

Chapter 12

The two villages compared

437 (a) The form and content of exchanges

184 The data on exchanges are of a less comprehensive nature than those dealing with activity patterns. Hospitality, 'a cardinal virtue with the Orokaiva' (Williams 1930:37), has been disregarded as has a range of minor transactions, such as the loan of tools, temporary care of children, the casual movement of the lime gourd from hand to hand and much of the sharing of areca at informal gatherings. However, such exchanges replicate those of the more important goods and services dealt with, in terms of both their form and function.

There are only minor differences identifiable in the basic characteristics of exchange in the two villages. Each manifests a demand for cash that greatly exceeds the returns obtained from cash cropping, with the latter only one of several important sources [571] of income. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of monetary and non-monetary exchanges largely conforms to traditional concepts of morality where the principle of reciprocity operates within the 'sympathy group' and monetary transactions are effected, almost exclusively, with indigenes lying outside this group and with institutions located in the external sector of the economy. Thus a precarious, and probably only temporary, compromise has been achieved in which group solidarity and individual commercial aspirations each operate within socially and geographically identifiable contexts. The decision of the senior member of the largest Jegase lineage to 'market' pigmeat among villagers, and Linton's own dilemmas in the matter clearly demonstrate the vulnerability of the Orokaiva ideal of reciprocity in the face of progressive commercialisation of their economy.

However, to make a strict division between monetary and non-monetary exchanges can be misleading for, not only do specific goods and services marginally overlap the two categories, but many of the latter exchanges are not unlike the former in character. The principle of reciprocity underlies them all, although the system does not require that like be exchanged for like, and one type of goods is often reciprocated by another or goods by

437 184 service. In Sivepe sustained reciprocal exchanges operate primarily among members of an extended family and secondarily within a single generation (as between cross-cousins or ego and his wife's brother). In the first a significant degree of economic inter-dependence is apparent, while in the second exchanges serve to support alliances which may be both social and economic in character. Because of the continuing nature of the relationship no final settlement occurs and reciprocation is, therefore, frequently delayed. Elsewhere major exchanges are more typically characterised by immediate reciprocation, particularly where the obligation is a specific one relating to particular goods or service. In consequence only the casual exchanges, which themselves comprise but a small proportion of the total quantity of goods and services transacted, can be judged a drain on resources in the sense that they might serve to inhibit individual aggrandisement.[1] Furthermore, in most instances, [433] the proportion of total production exchanged is so slight that the system cannot be considered to function as a major limitation on productivity. Even where the proportion is high, as with pigs or sago, there is normally immediate reciprocation to an equivalent, and often negotiated, value. In effect, therefore, it is less the goods than the relationship which determines the type of exchange adopted and according to the available evidence, this applies regardless of the extent of individual involvement in the monetary economy.

438 184 With the exception of labour services the mean volume of transactions per man-week in all categories in Inonda is about twice the level of that in Sivepe (see Table 12:1). However, the area over which most of them operate is much the same; at Inonda, 87 per cent of the acquisitions and 89 per cent of the disposals of subsistence produce are effected within a radius of two miles of the village, compared with 91 per cent and 81 per cent respectively at Sivepe. This difference of scale is largely explicable in terms of the greater socio-economic diversity of the Inonda neighbourhood and, related to this, the fact that virtually all the village's cash income is locally derived whereas at Sivepe a major source is remittances from kin, with whom there is little direct contact.

At Inonda a more restricted range of subsistence produce is available; with the exception of sago, there is a scarcity of staple foods suitable for consumption during the dry season. At the same time there is an abundance of fish and game within the group territory. Within a short distance of the village live ex-servicemen settlers (some of whom are kinsmen) and plantation labourers, while access to the wage earners in Popondetta is facilitated through the market there. The limited number of Inonda people in the permanent

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[1] See pp.181-2.

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Table 12:1

Sivepe and Inonda: the volume of transactions per man-week compared 437
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Item	Acquired Total	Acquired Mean (per man-week)	Disposed Total	Disposed Mean (per man-week)
Sivepe				
Subsistence produce (lbs)	11,553.00	17.10	15,091.00	22.30
Cash crops ($)	-	-	71.60	0.11
Labour services (hrs)	1,170.00	1.70	1,108.00	1.60
Storebought goods ($)	314.16	0.46	25.43	0.04
Cash ($)	273.72	0.40	239.20	0.35
Inonda				
Subsistence produce (lbs)	14,032.00	35.30	14,088.00	35.40
Cash crops ($)	-	-	2.32	0.01
Labour services (hrs)	631.20	1.60	439.90	1.10
Storebought goods ($)	373.04	0.94	41.08	0.10
Cash ($)	337.36	0.85	340.70	0.86

Total man-weeks: Sivepe - 677.3
Inonda - 397.4

wage-labour force may be related to this local diversity, and the 438
fact that it is readily exploited through the medium of exchange,
both monetary and non-monetary. Compared with their Sivepe counter- [184]
parts, the Inonda people dispose of twice the volume of subsistence [432]
produce through the monetary sector, with sales of fish and game in
Popondetta predominating. With settlers a wide range of subsistence 439
produce is exchanged, labour services are rendered and cash payments
received, while wage earners, whose involvement in the cash economy 434
is greater than that of the settlers, serve as important sources of
storebought goods and cash, which may be reciprocated with subsistence 437
produce.

At Sivepe there appears to be less incentive to develop exchange 437
relationships outside the village context. Apart from lime and
fish there is little subsistence produce not readily available 184
locally. The demand for produce at Saiho market is limited, while
the prices obtained discourage regular selling. The few wage [432]
earners residing in the neighbourhood have small incomes and in-
variably maintain their own gardens. Consequently they control few [438]
goods not directly available to the villagers themselves from their
own resources.

Table 11:18

Inonda: the circulation of goods and services by occupational category of partner
(percentages)

	Acquisition						Disposal				
	Total	1	2	3	4	5	Total	1	2	3	5
	(lbs)						(lbs)				
Subsistence produce	14,032	85	9	5	-	1	14,088	78	7	8	6
deviant items:											
Xanthosoma	403	34	2	52	-	12	141	81	-	17	2
Fish	174	94	2	4	-	-	211	69	2	6	23
	(hrs)						(hrs)				
Labour services	631.2	98	-	2	-	-	439.9	93	6	1	-
Cash sector	52.8	97	-	3	-	-	53.1	79	21	-	-
Subsistence sector	578.4	98	-	2	-	-	386.8	95	4	1	-
	($)						($)				
Storebought goods	373.04	9	3	17	-	71	43.40	80	4	3	12
deviant items:											
Rice	56.74	15	7	39	-	39	12.94	82	6	1	11
Tinned fish	29.98	17	5	20	-	58	6.16	86	3	1	10
Tinned meat	17.00	17	5	34	-	44	1.30	100	-	-	-
Bread	17.30	12	1	9	-	78	3.08	81	13	-	6
Sugar	17.84	2	7	17	-	74	1.62	86	-	-	14
Tobacco	21.24	4	5	6	-	85	2.26	87	4	9	-
Flour	13.80	6	-	3	-	91	0.90	100	-	-	-
Clothing	77.04	5	-	14	-	81	6.70	100	-	-	-
Cartridges	7.22	10	8	3	-	79	0.50	100	-	-	-
Cash	337.36	21	11	12	4	52	340.70	19	-	4	77

1 = subsistence villagers; 2 = settlers; 3 = wage earners within Northern District; 4 = wage earners outside Northern District; 5 = organisations.

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(b) The commitment to cash

437 Among the Orokaiva money serves to fulfil commitments to the external sector of the economy, to add variety to the diet and to acquire substitutes for those items of the traditional technology no longer produced. In these respects there is a manifest commitment to cash, but at the present level of acquisition there is insufficient available to effect major improvements in the standard of living. While Orokaiva priorities for its use may differ from those preferred by an innovating agency it is scarcely possible to [171] speak of 'inappropriate systems of consumption which act as obstacles to increasing production and commercialisation'.[1] The available data demonstrate the absolute insignificance of large ceremonial exchanges and, in this respect, the Orokaiva, as observed, do not conform to the pattern generally described in the ethnographic literature dealing with other traditional societies. In the absence of a developed market economy and the scarcity of its basic prerequisite, cash, reciprocal exchanges based on kinship serve as an effective means of exploiting the resources available to the several socio-economic groups and of providing an important measure of social security.

The analysis of activity patterns has demonstrated the two communities to be primarily subsistence oriented. Data on exchange reveal that, while much cash is acquired independent of direct productive effort, the requirements of subsistence largely dictate the manner in which it is utilised. This consideration applies to members of all the socio-economic categories where, for example, wage earners are unable to provide accommodation for their dependents and ex-servicemen settlers have inadequate resources of capital and labour to develop their holdings satisfactorily. It would appear that it is the villagers' concept of subsistence itself, and their assumption that it is both distinct from commercial activities and that viability at this level must be achieved prior to involvement in the latter, which is central to the problem of development rather than simply considerations of mechanisms of exchange or availability of labour. It is because of this that the issue of 'marketing' subsistence products among kin emerges as a crucial one to the Orokaiva.

[p. 284 is blank]

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[1] See p.182.

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583 [437] The inclusion of cash in bride-wealth is now widespread in Papua-New Guinea. Before cash was introduced, ornaments made from shells, pigs' tusks, dogs' teeth, animal fur, etc., and feather head-dresses, household utensils, pigs and food were commonly exchanged for brides in most, if not all, parts of the country. These things are still given in the majority of bride-wealth exchanges, even when the people consider cash the most important component. Bride-wealth is usually exchanged between two groups, one associated with the bride and the other with the groom, with the result that a considerable number of people is associated with any one exchange.[1]

We do not know the volume of cash exchanged annually in bride-wealth in the country nor the rate at which this volume is changing, but the information available suggests that a significant proportion of the cash in the indigenous sector of the economy is involved. [465] For example, in Hanuabada village near Port Moresby (where the legal minimum cash wage is a little over $300 per annum) bride-wealth including more than $2000 in cash has been paid for a single marriage. In many rural areas, the ratio of cash in marriage [434] payments to cash incomes is also high. In a Siane village in the Eastern Highlands, where the average annual cash income per household in 1965 was less than $100, I counted $240 cash in one bride-wealth exchange and $180 in another.

121 There is insufficient information to permit analysis of the implications which certain practices in the indigenous sector have for the growth and functioning of the cash economy of Papua-New Guinea. These practices include bride-wealth exchanges, cash gift exchanges, gambling and hoarding. They may be beneficial to economic growth in that they may provide incentives to produce goods and services for sale. Also they may facilitate cash

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[128] [1] The collection of data for this paper was made possible by the generous co-operation of numerous people from Inonda and nearby villages, especially Stephen Oriri and Jack Umbarapa. Dr R.G. Crocombe kindly assisted in the preparation of the report; Mr C. Burau explained marriage customs among the Orokaiva; and Miss P. Richardson, Mr M. Rimoldi and Mr P. Krinks gave helpful suggestions for revision.

even have been sufficient qualification for admission to a group, but without precise and comprehensive genealogical information this cannot be asserted. It is possible, for example, that some households could trace approximately equivalent but very distant genealogical relationships to both bride and groom, and that place of residence then determined the group with which they were aligned. 583 621

Williams (1930:137) describes a marriage payment typical of the mid-1920s. It included no cash and the traditional valuable would have been worth only $10.00 at 1962 prices. The traditional valuables in the bride-wealth described here were worth about three times as much and in addition $80.00 in cash was included. The people clearly regarded the cash as the most important component. Those genealogically and residentially closest to the groom contributed most cash; there was considerable formality associated with the payment of it; and in discussions of the bride-wealth the dominant topic was the cash component. The bride's father and brother received most of the cash but only a small proportion of the traditional valuables and they showed little interest in the latter. Households with lesser claims generally received items other than cash. The importance of traditional valuables in marriage payments has therefore declined markedly as a result of the introduction of cash to the economy. 583 437 178

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Table 15

Replacement value of tools and equipment

A	$101.70	E	$138.05	I	$164.30
B	87.50	F	82.90	J	142.80
C	254.80	G	113.60	K	46.40
D	54.70	H	376.45	L	222.40
Average	$124.68		$177.75		$143.97

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Traditional valuables. The possession of *hambo* (bone and shell ornaments) and *di* (feather headdress) may give some indication of a man's adherence to traditional values. In traditional Orokaiva society the possession of such valuables demonstrated wealth and prowess, but this function is now being taken over by money, as the relative importance of cash as the means of procuring desirable products increases, and money transactions become more frequent. *Hambo* and *di* are inherited through the father and sometimes other relatives, and they are usually distributed among the surviving sons. It is difficult to assess the traditional valuables owned by any one individual, as a man often looks after his younger brothers' shares and more than one person, both within and without the nuclear family, may have rights to the *hambo* and *di* kept in a particular household.

As shown in Table 16, subjects A to D possessed an average of $31.51 worth of traditional valuables, subjects E to H $46.16, and I to L (only one of whom has any such valuables) $7.50. H, the owner of the largest quantity of valuables, acquired them by inheritance and does few transactions with them today.

Table 16

Cash value of traditional valuables*

A	37.33	E	50.00	I	30.00
B	25.00 (assessed)	F	11.15	J	-
C	63.70	G	49.90	K	-
D	-	H	73.60	L	-
Average	31.51		46.16		7.50

* Values were calculated according to rates set out in Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:97-9. If a man held valuables jointly for himself and other kin, only his proportionate share is listed above.

241 242 311 year. Thus, over a ten-year land-rotation cycle, approximately two and a half acres of land are required to support one person.

241 433 177 [437] The major change that has occurred in New Guinea agriculture with the coming of white men has been the introduction of cash crops. When Europeans first arrived they found a subsistence economy. Some trade was conducted but it was almost entirely by barter and was confined in the main to items of ceremonial value, shell and feather ornaments and the like. The early administrators, both British and German, were faced with the problem of rapidly easing the financial burdens their colonies imposed on the mother countries. The only readily apparent way to do this was to encourage the production and export of copra, the dehydrated meat of mature coconuts which grew prolifically in all coastal areas. Accordingly villagers were encouraged to produce and sell copra to itinerant traders; this village or 'trade' copra was the mainstay of the colonial economy for many years until production from large scale plantations was built up. First coconuts, then rubber, coffee, and cocoa and latterly tea and pyrethrum were grown on plantations owned and managed by white men who directed gangs of indigenous labourers in the tedious tasks of keeping the jungle at bay and processing the crops. Since 1950, Administration policy has changed in favour of encouraging the production of tree crops by indigenous growers on small plots of village land or, in certain areas, on small plantations of ten to forty acres. This policy has brought into sharp focus the difference between our land ownership system and that of the New Guineans.

423 Flying over New Guinea and looking down on vast areas of trees or grassland, with no apparent occupants apart from an occasional village, one may be tempted to think that there is a great deal of vacant or unclaimed land. This would be erroneous. Some indigene claims rights to every square foot of land under 7,000 feet and to much of the higher land as well; in many areas the rights claimed by one man are disputed by several others.

The European concept of individual land ownership must be discarded when considering New Guinea custom. Similarly the phrase

[P.2-A)

439 buy cheap cloth and durable iron or
178 aluminium pots at the trade stores. Although
every housewife now has two or three large
415 manufactured pots, she keeps them for cooking
252 the food for feasts. Most of the daily meals
[437] are still prepared in clay pots but few of these
pots were obtained by the old barter methods;
[431] most were obtained as gifts from friends or
relatives. At one wedding, for example, the
585 bride received fourteen clay cooking pots, in
431 addition to a large supply of mats, string bags,
enamel plates, and dishes: enough to last for
years to come.

ECONOMIC CHANGE AND THE PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT

178 A very close relationship exists between
economic change, particularly the planting of
361 cash crops, and changes in the pattern of
settlement. Although most development has
[173] occurred in the last twenty years, there is evidence,
supported by the oral traditions of Yega
elders, to show that some evolution of settlement
had occurred even before the first contact
173 with white men. By tradition the Yega
were sea people. This probably means that
361 they arrived as migrants and originally spent
most of their time aboard their canoes and
lived mainly upon seafood. They settled first on
three small islands, Baroda Deuga, about half
a mile north-east of Waususu Point (Fig. 9).
[133] These islands are today only a few feet above
high tide and are composed entirely of coarse

[P.12-A]

121 We have to establish values for X, Y, C for each episode, i.e. for each prestation. Under 'social behaviour patterning rules', we would need to treat formal and contextual social relations between classes of actors as contexts because a quite different 'meaning' needs to be attached to a prestation according to whether it is made between, for instance, cross-cousins, affines, feasting partners or hereditary friends. (For the Orokaiva, these differences are glossed in Schwimmer 1974.)

We could not retain the otherwise very useful class of 'convertibility rules', first established by Firth (1939), because prestations of taro, yam, areca nuts, pig, different types of ornaments etc. may follow varying 'rules of syntax'. Even if such objects belong to the same 'sphere of exchange', their convertibility as signifiers can never be assumed on the basis of a functional classification but must each time be established by specific semiotic investigation.

[437] [591] To give another example, in an investigation of daily intra-village taro prestations among Orokaiva I found that the meaning of the gifts was systematically affected by their frequency (chronemic rule) and by the distance between donor's and recipient's residences (topological rule). Subtle nuances in social distance could thus be signified.

These examples give some idea of the kind of rigour the semiotic analysis of exchange demands. While most kinds of constitutive rules to be discovered in exchange systems fall into the standard types enumerated by Bouissac, there are two kinds that may be specific to ritualised prestations. These need to be briefly presented. The first kind may be called 'equivalence rules', and specifies the conditions under which two patently different objects will be deemed to be 'equivalent' in the sense that one is fair (balanced) exchange for the other. The term is due to Daniel de Coppet (1968) who gives examples, taken from Malaita ethnography, that show very clearly that the equivalence here is not inherent in the objects exchanged but purely in the representations Malaitans have about what they stand for.

If we use the same symbols as before for constitutive rules, and write a transaction as two prestations $P1$ and $P2$, and if

$P1 = X1$ stands for $Y1$ in context C
$P2 = X2$ stands for $Y2$ in context C

then $P1$ and $P2$ are equivalent if the recipient in $P2$ considers them to be so. Where social relations between exchange partners are, ritually speaking, symmetrical, equivalence will normally be restored by a return gift of objects of the same kind, the same quantity, the same quality. The need for writing equivalence rules arises where role attributes or formal capacities are complementary, and where $X1$, $X2$ cannot be objects of the same kind so that their equivalence must be established by a cultural rule. The most famous example is the *mwali/soulava* exchange in the *kula*. Malinowski wrote (1922: 356) that the two ornaments are 'equivalent' if of the same quality. Also, 'the armshells are conceived as a female principle and the necklaces as the male.' Moreover, speaking metaphorically of Dobuans (recipients of 'female' *mwali* armshells), Trobrianders said 'they are women'. We may therefore in this case

121 write Y1/Y2 as men/women. De Coppet deals with the relations: murderer's
clan/victim's clan and wife giver/wife taker. Schwimmer (1973) adds: land
giver/land taker; human partner/spirit partner. In all these cases the
equivalence rules give values for X1, X2.

The second type of constitutive rules specific to ritual prestations are
'translation rules', i.e. rules about the translation of sentiments into prestations
and about inferring sentiments from prestations received. These rules are
437 elicited by asking informants *why* gifts were made. (In Orokaiva, the nearest
equivalent of *why?* is *do eto?*, meaning: what having been done, what having
been?) I found that (except for identical return gifts), such questions were
usually answered in terms of sentiments felt or professed by the donor towards
437 the recipient. Bridewealth was always explained as a way of appeasing the
583 wife-givers' anger at the taking away of their daughter. This anger is not just
in the wife-taker's mind but is expressed by the wife-givers by certain stock
actions and phrases (as in any joking relation) behind which there are
individual variations in genuine attachment to the daughter, genuine aversion
437 to the affines and shrewd calculation. To give another example, many feasts
are made in order to restore amity between groups, in which case the small
574 preliminary gift of betel nut and food accompanying the invitation (*sope ikari*,
Schwimmer 1973: 151) would stand for an offer of amity (translation rule)
and acceptance of the invitation would signify the prospective guests'
willingness to forget past grudges.

121 Semantically, gifts encode sentiments in many ways: by what is given, how
much, of what quality, in what manner, where, when, in the context of what
relationship and so on.[2] The recipient decodes: he reads the donor's
sentiments in the prestation—the only language that, in the cultures discussed
here, does not lie. Words are not to be trusted: but a gift is sacred like a
statement under oath. Sentiments do not, of course, objectively explain gifts
but the translation rules specify what message a particular gift conveys about
the donor's sentiments. While social anthropology may not be interested in
sentiments as such, it should be interested in the codes in which they are
ritually expressed and in which the receiver is urged to change his own
sentiments. To the extent that the principle of reciprocity has weight in a
society, conflict will tend to be resolved by prestations that will re-establish
sentiments of amity rather than by the interpretation of (often ambiguous)
rules of law. Such prestations recompense the distress caused rather than the
torts committed.

121 The rest of this article will present an example of semiotic analysis of an
exchange system. This analysis, based on Orokaiva data, starts (part II) by
128 investigating terminology used in discourse about gifts, debts, exchange and
reciprocity. It explores the relation between the constitutive rules and the
ideology of reciprocity.[3] The second step in analysis (part III) will relate this
ideology to the overall Orokaiva world-view, thus demonstrating that the
principle of reciprocity is not an observer-improvised category but an integral
part of the conceptual system. Finally (part IV), we shall consider the relation
between the constitutive rules and transactional practices and test Sahlins's
theory of exchange against the semiotic analysis of Orokaiva data.

II

My fieldwork in 1970 was planned to obtain Orokaiva texts describing and 121 explaining the Orokaiva exchange system. In Sivepe, the principal village of my 1966–67 research, I found two very good Orokaiva informants willing to 124 record on tape their reply to the question: 'what is exchange?'. The [126] recordings, made in a single day, took the form of dialogues between the two informants after the style of radio interviews. I did not intervene except at the outset, to present the question.

Prior to the taped discussion, I tried to establish whether Orokaiva have any 437 notions corresponding to Mauss's theory of the three general obligations of giving, receiving and repaying gifts. I had no difficulty in finding strong prescriptions for the first of these, namely giving. As for receiving and repaying, I searched assiduously for evidence of a general obligation but could find only a number of specific contexts where repayment was obligatory as well as some ritual contexts where receiving was obligatory. On the other hand, the general obligation to give turned out to be a key principle of Orokaiva ideology.

The verb for making a gift is *ikari* which also means 'to put down, to 196 forward, to throw away' and in sexual intercourse, to ejaculate. In general, therefore, *ikari* implies a recipient, but not invariably. *Ikari* is ubiquitous in 437 everyday life. A person makes and receives probably dozens of gifts in an average day. Nearly all these are small gifts which in themselves have little economic value: dishes of cooked taro, coconuts, areca nuts and the 'fixing' of betel nut, tauga nuts, tobacco and paper for rolling cigarettes. Some of these occasions for *ikari* involve two persons, donor and recipient, but many others involve several, namely one donor and several recipients. Coconuts, betel nuts, tauga nuts, tobacco are usually shared out by those who happen to have a supply to all those who happen to be around when the sharing out is done. The term for sharing out is *hande ari*; the word *hande* may be glossed as 'generous', 'generosity'. It applies irrespective of the economic value of the objects shared out. A man generous and clever in giving is called a *hande embo*.

This concept is distinct from that of reciprocity; the generous man is not, of course, he who gives when he expects a big return, but he who gives when he expects none. This aspect of *hande ari* is emphasised in ideological discourse, as 773 an example of which I was quoted a simple story which, so I was told, Orokaiva parents teach their children. Some variants of this story are of great 437 anthropological interest but the Orokaiva children's version given to me has the form of a simple moral tale.[4] The hero and his wife, both filthy, ill-dressed, covered in scabies, came from the coast to an inland village as part of a visiting party. The other members of the party were received hospitably and invited to stay in one or another of houses in the host village. The dishevelled couple, however, were left standing in the burning sun, as nobody wanted them for exchange partners. (Gift exchange partnerships between individuals tend to be established by just this kind of invitation by a man from the host group to a stranger from the guest group. When the stranger leaves for his home, his host

773 will make him a present; when the host village makes a return visit to the
village of their previous guests, individual partnerships tend to be maintained,
437 so that each man can make a return gift to his previous host.)

Finally a girl whose father was absent from the village invited the two strangers into her house. The father, upon his return home, accepted the hero as guest and partner and performed all the proper duties of a host tending their hair, dressing them in new raiment, feeding them, presenting them with gifts. When the people of the host village went down to the coast to return the visit, they were received most stingily, except for the man who had hosted the hero. For the hero turned out to be a man of fabulous riches with which he loaded the only guest who had given evidence of a spirit of generosity.

773 The hero's name, Javaite Poromo, is said to mean 'giving food to friends', a
gloss I was unable to check as the words are not otherwise part of current
437 Orokaiva vocabulary. 'Javaite' is called out at feasts in the sense of 'come
196 hither'. The conclusion to this tale is a long recitation by Javaite Poromo on the rules of gift exchange; he is thus presented as the hero who established this institution among Orokaiva. The rules, as stated in the text, did no more than restate a number of rules I had already elicited in previous interviews and to which reference will be made below. The essential point, for the present, is that the *hande embo* is he who gives without thought of return, in other words, for whom giving is a categorical imperative. It is reinforced by sanctions: 'If you don't give, you are bad, people will pull you down'.

Unlike Javaite Poromo, most men have limited resources. Nonetheless, they follow the same rules of gift exchange as he whose resources are infinite. He is the model all must follow. Now, from the tale quoted above, it is clear that the hero accepts the notion of debt: the hospitality he had received created a debt he was obliged to repay. The Orokaiva term for this concept is *tihanga*. The repayment of the debt then becomes a 'return' for the gift. The Orokaiva term for 'exchange' (*mine* or *minemine*) is simultaneously the term used to describe the 'return'. No terminological distinction is made between an exchange of gifts, or services, or other amicable prestations on the one hand and an exchange of injuries (murders, sorcery, thefts, etc.) on the other. The term for retribution as well as reward is *minemine*. In speeches by Orokaiva ideologists who wish to criticise the old order (where vendettas were just as prevalent as gift exchange) the term *minemine* is regularly used in the merely negative sense of the old days where a clan killing an enemy was thought to 'owe' a death to that enemy's clan and the enemy had a recognised right to make such retribution.

437 The Javaite Poromo rules about the recognition and estimation of *tihanga*
are complex. Balance is a basic factor, once it is recognised that *tihanga* has
196 been incurred. When a return gift re-establishes balance, it is called *inono* (enough). Just what quantity counts as *inono* depends on context. All else being equal, gifts should be exactly balanced (*perukari*). Thus, at a feast taro bundles are, at some stage, tied to a pole. The height of the food pile is marked on the pole. So is the height of food pile that is received in return. Balance then means that the height of the two piles should be the same. The term *isapa* (little, too little) is used to signify that in the view of the recipient, the

repayment was too small. It is also used in the sense of 'earnest' of a repayment 437
that will be made in the future. If the insufficiency complained of is not made 196
up, effectively a *tihanga* remains.

The term *pavonei* is used to indicate that the return payment is considered excessive. Far from being considered gratifying and proper, such a state of affairs is considered provocative and unfriendly. The principal meaning of *pavonei* is a stick planted in front of a coconut palm by a man who has taken some nuts and who thus acknowledges his debt. The setting up of a *pavonei* at a feast means thus to set up in the mind of the recipients of a repayment the consciousness that they are again indebted to their exchange partners. The act of setting up such a *pavonei* is often referred to as *kambari*, a verb that means principally 'to bite, to kill'. The effect of it is that the victims of the *pavonei* will themselves return an excessive repayment, and that the whole exchange will escalate to the distress of both parties. The outcome may either be war or, if relations between the parties become more amiable, one side may decide to call off the battle by restoring the balance.

A very different and entirely legitimate imbalance is what is called a *hande mine*. This is a gift such as should be made when returning a loaned object (implements, ceremonial paraphernalia etc.). It should also be added when repaying a gift made at a time of shortage when the donor himself was badly
in need of the thing he gave away. A special case of this are the food gifts made [768]
to a bereaved family after a death (when the family may not garden, and when
crops from the deceased's garden are no longer consumable by his family). The bereaved family must add a substantial *hande mine* to the repayment of such food gifts because of the presumption that the sudden unforeseeable demand made on the donor's food resources would create distress. The *hande mine*, if omitted, is said to create a *tihanga*.

In some respects the notions about *hande mine* resemble what Sahlins said about the Maori notion of *hau*. The magnitude of the *hande mine* expected with the return of a borrowed object is not related to the length of time it has been kept, but rather to the success the borrower had with it. If a hunter catches nothing after borrowing a gun, he owes nothing. If he has a large bag, he is expected to be generous to the lender.

The question that concerns us here is to distinguish the situations where *tihanga* is created from those where it is not created. This is no easy matter especially because *tihanga* in close associations is extraordinarily hard to establish clearly. I have shown that Orokaiva householders do sometimes count as gifts meals of cooked vegetable presented to certain categories of kin; in comparison to western society far more things are counted in the balance. The crucial distinction seems to be that some debts are reclaimed while others
are not. Debts incurred by a child may be claimed by the parents when the 437
child is adult, but in fact the child may start quite early in making some
prestations, viz. when he has a small garden of his own. There is nothing 593
extraordinary in the pattern of household co-operation, but many things that in western society would be classified as co-operation are classified by Orokaiva after the model of *hande ari* and *tihanga*.

It is therefore futile to seek to demonstrate an exchange ideology merely

437 593 from behaviour, because Orokaiva parents give their children, for instance, school lunches, just as parents will do anywhere. It is only when the anthropologist inquires how such behaviour is *classified* by actors, that we find differences, e.g. that an occidental mother will say she is doing her duty to her children when an Orokaiva mother will count the school lunches along with other lots of gift exchange taro she has distributed that day. If the anthropologist proceeds to ask whether the mother expects a counterprestation, a minimum of casuistic talent will suggest the answer to her that she will get it all back in her old age.

437 The hard fact is that some *tihanga* are collectable, others not. Naturally one collects what one can. A more apposite but difficult field of enquiry would be: when do people stop allowing others to accumulate uncollectable debts? The commonly given, almost standard answer to unwelcome requests for *hande* is: *irae* (it's all gone). This is by no means always true but, over a longer run, it would be hard indeed to stop giving until the supplies are gone. The only room for exercising free will is in deciding to whom one will share out what [426] one has. Orokaiva do not accumulate debt to the same extent as many other more hierarchised New-Guinean groups,[5] because there is a rule against borrowing for ceremonial prestations. Big men may give on such occasions; they may not lend. Even so, a good part of any *hande* will go to sundry creditors, while the rest will go to set up debts among others. Here the social scientist cannot hope to write rules for what is essentially an art.

554 437 One may say that the highest social status is reserved to the skilled manipulator, the *hande embo*, who is also often called *otohu embo*, a term discussed in much detail elsewhere (Schwimmer 1973; ch. 9) which means not only a generous, honourable man, but even in a sense, 'a holy man'. My field data show that the persons in my village to whom this term may be most nearly applied, practised great care in balancing their accounts and minimising their debts within the village. It was those who lacked ambition for 'big man' status who allowed their debts to ride indefinitely. They did ask for help in feasting and other more or less public causes, but not often the kind that set up 437 *tihanga* against them. It may also be relevant that the rules I have been setting 436 out here do not apply so closely to European type resources such as money and objects bought with money and I never heard that it set up a *tihanga* if a friend pays your taxes. Money was, at the time of my research, little more than a toy, except if it became 'sacralised' by being included in a bridewealth or other ceremonial prestation. To be sure it then became an *integral* part of the Orokaiva exchange system, but even then I do not believe that money could become *tihanga* in the sense that its repayment was seriously demanded upon [121] dissolution of a marriage. Perhaps the explanation of this paradox lies in Sahlins's theory of *hau*: the possession of valuables such as ornaments has a definite *yield*, in blessings gained by the donor, *hande mine* gained by the lender. On the other hand, money (except if kept for other ceremonial prestations) vanishes without a trace, without any noticeable yield, at least among Orokaiva. Presentation of money at a wedding or other ceremony, while highly honorific, is in fact a destruction of value, like coppers at a potlatch.

III

The above outline of the glories of *hande* and the pains of *tihanga* present a model remarkably like Sahlins's 'balanced exchange', but drawn from what one might call Orokaiva ethnosociology. This Orokaiva model is, however, no more than a first lesson in reciprocity. My informants, immediately after telling and explaining the Javaite Poromo tale, proceeded to a second lesson on what they considered a slightly more advanced level. This was prefaced by: 'I should like to tell you why we tell the story of Javaite Poromo'. It soon turned into the recounting of another myth, complete with commentaries and explanations.

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A handsome young man came to a village, married a girl but instead of taking her to a village, he took her deeper and deeper into the bush. It turned out that he was, in fact, a pig who had merely disguised himself as a man for the visit to the village. They lived in the bush where she had a son from him who was a white cockatoo (*agena*). As the pig, together with his friends, now wished to kill the woman, she took refuge, with her son, on a *peromba* tree. When the pigs proceeded to try and uproot the *peromba* tree the mother sent her son to her native village with a message. When he returned, the pigs had almost uprooted the tree, but they fled safely, the mother in the son's beak. As they arrived, the mother warned her kinsmen to expect the pig shortly.

When the pig arrives, he is fully and impressively decorated as before—the tale mentions specifically his fine tapa cloth, his *ganda*, his pineapple club, his headdress of red cockatoo feathers, his shield. The kinsmen convey him to a platform with ceremonial greetings appropriate to a visiting affine, fall upon him with spears, cut him into small pieces and eat him.

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The commentary given by informants briefly shows the link between this tale and the question of reciprocity. It was by the killing of the pig, informants said, that the present relationship between pig and man was at last established—they kill us; we kill them; they are given to the land for us to eat. This is in contrast with relations between men, based on mutual visits and friendship. This contrast between pig/man and man/man relationships is not in the body of the text, but its relevance was pointed out to me by the two informants.

It will be fully clear to any initiated Orokaiva why this tale explains the principle of reciprocity. It is also probably quite clear to any trained anthropologist. I think, however, that I am obliged to offer a translation into western jargon. The tale is not for children but, it is implied, for initiated men, i.e. those who have a knowledge of spirits. Uninitiated people think that the strange decorated figures one sees at certain ceremonials are spirits, because they have the plumes of birds, the paint of the dead and the bone and shell ornaments of the ancestors. This is not so; these figures are all men disguised as spirits and ancestors. These disguises ought to be so perfect that the person beneath them is not recognisable. In any case, if anyone recognises them, it would be very rude to make this known. They must be respected in every way as though they were the ancestors they represent. The initiated, however, know that the living man and the ancestor are both present in the decorated man.

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[301]

437 Now who were these ancestors? They were all human but at the same time they might inhabit the body of an animal or borrow some of an animal's 773 bodily characteristics. Such a tendency would go with a very particular affinity with the animal in question, a partaking in its powers. Many stories are therefore told of ancestors with such affinities. As for pig stories, the most famous is that of Totoima, a man who on occasion wore pigs' tusks and then was murderous in the extreme. When he was finally killed, his body was cut into many pieces and the men who ate from it multiplied miraculously and became the ancestors of great tribes. Another story, of which only a very incomplete version survives today,[6] concerns a 'pig-man' who had assumed the body of a pig but was really a man. Men built a house for him and gave him taro for which he gave them real pigs in exchange. Men broke off this exchange, however, and since then men and pigs have not made exchanges. Nonetheless, he is remembered as a great man as he set up the practice of exchanging and was the first to provide men with pigmeat, thus making them strong.

In this time of the ancestors, men and animals exchanged and communicated with each other without restriction. Yet at a certain moment, a strict division began to be made between those with whom one can make exchanges and those who must be regarded as outside exchange. Unless there are such clear limits to exchange, men would never be safe. This is what we learn from the tale quoted above, the subject of which is, as one might say, *The Pig with the Ganda*. Now, as the story is told, this was not a man in the guise of a pig, but it was really a pig. When he came to a village, he changed the various parts of his body into the ornaments that men use even today for ceremonial [301] dress. His bristles changed into the feathers of the red cockatoo, his jaws and teeth changed into the ornament called *ganda*, normally made by men from pigs' tusks and dogs' teeth and held between the teeth when men dance. It was in that guise he could seduce women (see fig. 1).

He changed himself, so to speak, from a real pig into a symbolic pig and was thus indistinguishable from a man who would likewise change himself into a symbolic pig.

It is the case that whenever great exchanges are made between men, they all wear the decorations and disguises given to them by their ancestors. This is necessary because today, men are always at war and harmony between men existed only in the days of the ancestors. During feasts men therefore recreate the world of the ancestors which was the only world of peace. But the pig with the *ganda* must be excluded from such feasts. There must be separation and thus confinement of the world of exchange.

I have given this reconstruction informally, instead of deriving it systematically from the many texts on which it is based. It exemplifies the type of religious discourse which enters into any serious explanations offered by Orokaiva. What it explains, in effect, is 'negative reciprocity', the state of permanent war that exists outside the confined universe of ceremonial exchange. This certainly includes the war between man and nature, but most probably it includes more than that. It is worth remembering that Orokaiva describe the mountain tribes with whom they refuse to make exchanges as

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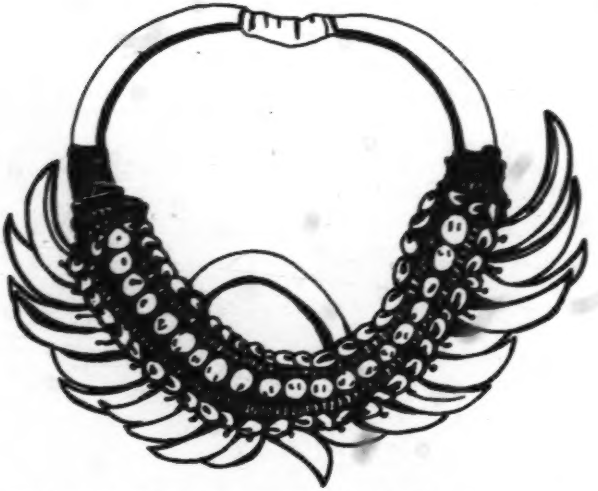

FIGURE 1. *Ganda*, Northern Province of Papua New Guinea (author's collection).

pereho, meaning bush pigs, a term they used so frequently that the first whites who tried to make ethnographic maps of the Northern District tried to find the exact location of the 'tribe' Orokaiva called the '*pereho*'. It was hard to put on the map, as the *pereho* category included quite different groups according to who was speaking. My concern was here to give the conceptual boundaries of the exchange universe in Orokaiva terms, but there are real geographical boundaries, different for each village, which correspond to such concepts. Williams (1930) already spoke of two systems of Orokaiva morality, one within the 'sympathy group' which is his term for the exchange universe, and another where there is, in principle, a permanent state of total war even though there will always be a few islands where trading partnerships are found. 437 773

IV

If semiotic analysis has no difficulty in revealing categories of balanced and negative reciprocity, what about Sahlins's most fruitful and original category, generalised exchange? It is possible to find a category of relations among Orokaiva where it is denied that any *tihanga* is ever recognised. There are plenty of gifts, but no gift would ever be explained as *mine* or *hande mine*. I doubt however whether that particular category corresponds to 'generalised reciprocity'. 121 437 196

It includes, first of all, *hande* on a very small scale, like a single coconut, areca

121 nut or cigarette. Secondly it includes help in most everyday tasks, including
help with housebuilding and the like. Thirdly, it includes the very important
437 category of very close kin who are deemed to pool their resources. Thus
196 bridewealth, mortuary and other big prestations involve, as a matter of
course, an entire local plant emblem group where every member is expected to put in all he has. Such groups have corporate leaders, usually the oldest agnate and such leaders have supposedly full authority over all the group's resources. Within those narrow confines, they need not cajole like the *hande embo* but theoretically they can instruct. They always told me this. It so happened that I did not know any families who habitually followed such instructions. In any case it is at least theoretically possible to separate out a category of actions based on structuring principles such as 'verticality', 'horizontality' rather than reciprocity.

121 Orokaiva ethnosociology does not seem to recognise a *category* of rules that
lies between incorporation and balanced exchange. Yet, Sahlins has argued,
437 on what seems irrefutable evidence, that in societies such as Orokaiva
'balanced reciprocity is not the prevalent form of exchange' and even that it is 'inherently unstable' (1974: 223). According to him what is prevalent and stable is generalised exchange. Even if we subtract a little from Sahlins's generalisation to allow for the meticulous strategies of some leaders, for the tendency to abandon 'balance' where western money becomes important, for the horror of debt bondage found in egalitarian societies like Orokaiva, for pooling in corporate groups, we are still left with many facts of generalised reciprocity.

We must, moreover, reject any attempt to explain such facts as 'organisational', as mere strategising, in contrast with other tendencies of the system that might be termed 'structural'. Such an assumption, though common enough, implies that it is sometimes possible to explain the relation between a given material condition and a specific cultural norm by the mediation of a symbolic system (as we have been doing above) but that sometimes it is not possible; that when we are dealing with deviations from the norm such deviations require only a 'common sense' explanation.

What then are we to say of the innumerable transactional sequences where, in principle, one of the transactors is in debt, but where nobody is at all interested in balancing the account? The debts are not reckoned but if the creditor feels the need for some help, he goes to his debtor and asks him for it. Can such sequences be incorporated as part of the semiotic model we have outlined? We think they can. We cannot incorporate them as part of equivalence rules, because such rules normally, at least among Orokaiva, do specify strict balance. We can, however, deal with them under the heading of translation rules.

Let us say that for years A has been helping B in a long list of predicaments. B is trouble prone while A is solid. B is generous enough but he rarely has something to give. A tolerates the situation without demur because he likes the B household; he does not at all feel anxious about repayment. Nor does B feel particularly ashamed of his position. In such circumstances, there will be a long series of gifts, for which the translation rule will be something along the lines of 'A feels sorry for B'. As long as that sentiment prevails, the equivalence rule is in abeyance. But it will become operative as soon as there is a quarrel. Then, however, what B will have to pay is not the accumulated ledger. B will have to pay, according to the model I have been using, *for the anger felt by A.* 121 437

It has already been often remarked, for instance by Williams in his work on the Orokaiva (1930), on the Kutubu (1976) and on primitive justice in general (1941), that in such societies one has to pay for anger, for slights, for psychological suffering, rather than for what is objectively on a ledger. If A becomes angry, he may use the ledger as his basis of claiming from B; he may just as easily demand vast compensation for 'insulting my sister', an item that does not appear on the ledger at all.

We thus face a paradox: there is an ideology of balanced exchange, but debts claimed are not necessarily those due by the rules of equivalence. By Sahlins's theory, the importance of the ledger increases with social distance. This may well be so, because social distance makes a great difference to the translation rules. In the cases where exchange is meticulously balanced in quantity—where one measured the height of the piles of taro—the translation rules usually specify that the exchanges serve to make peace, to assuage anger, to compensate for something unpleasant. From the semiotic viewpoint I am taking, it is they and not the social distance as material and mechanical fact that determine the importance of keeping a ledger.

There is a final point: balance is not only a matter of ledgers but also of equality. In an unbalanced relationship, there is a narrow line between A feeling 'sorry for B' and A feeling superior. If A should feel superior enough to B to slight him, then the anger caused by the slight would at once wipe out the ledger, at least among Orokaiva. There are peoples who more or less permit a creditor to slight a debtor. Those who do not permit it, like Orokaiva, feel some attachment for equivalence rules.

The scheme outlined here does not make a material and functional classification like Sahlins's unnecessary. On the contrary, such a classification is a necessary control on the kind of analysis here proposed. All that is claimed is that functional classifications should be made to pass through the grid of semiotic systems.

The anthropological task, with regard to reciprocity, does not however end at that point. For anthropology, this model of a closed semiotic system is a tool for resolving other, much broader questions which are best classed as historical. The penetration of Australian capitalism has introduced a very different concept of exchange, a kind of fusion of the balanced and negative modes, destructive of Orokaiva social relations, but profitable economically. The co-existence of the two systems in the same society has given to the Orokaiva exchange system an ideological weight it did not previously have, in that it began to stand for Orokaiva cultural identity as ideology, in opposition to capitalism as ideology. This polarisation had not begun in 1970, but it was strong in 1973, at least in the village of Kiorota. 437 177

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NOTES

101 The data presented here were gathered in the Northern Province of Papua New Guinea in
summer 1970 with the help of a research grant from the Canada Council. The paper was first
122 presented at a seminar at the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago. I thank
faculty and students at that seminar for their comments, which have led to clarifications of the
128 text.

[1] This article does not discuss what I believe semiotic anthropology to be and what is its
121 relation to French structuralism. The reader is referred to Schwimmer 1977.

[2] It was suggested to me that 'translation rules' may be what Peirce called 'motivations'. Upon reflection, I would suggest that all the constitutive rules of ritualised prestations are concerned with motivations. For instance, taros displayed on a platform at a wedding could be regarded as motivated signs because they are conspicuously part of an 'institution'. If we need a semiotic analogy for 'translation rules', we might say they specify the relation between expression form and expression content in Hjelmslev's sense (1963), where the prestation as message is the expression form and the sentiment immanent in the prestation is the expression content.

[3] MacCormack (1975) rightly remarked on the gap in my monograph (Schwimmer 1973) in
128 respect of the Orokaiva's own rules about reciprocity. There was no reason to expect that he
should have been aware that I presented a paper about these rules (Schwimmer 1970). The
present article incorporates the main data of that paper, as well as of a later paper presented in
Paris in 1974, on the occasion of a conference of French and Canadian ethnographers at the
Musée des Arts Populaires.

[4] Two tribes neighbouring Orokaiva have myths concerning figures closely resembling
773 Javaite Poromo, but far from being simple moral tales, these are elaborate myth cycles whose
171 heroes, Wasis for the Ai'i and Ine for the Omie, are said to be the principal exemplars for the 'big
man' system in those tribes. Data on these myth cycles were gathered by two Toronto graduate
437 students, namely T. N. Barker for the Ai'i and M. Rohatynskyj for the Omie.

[5] See for instance Fortune (1935) for Manus and Meggitt (1967: 1971) for Mae Enga.

000 [6] The story is in F. E. Williams's Notebooks now stored in the government archives at Port
Moresby and the property of the government of Papua New Guinea. Cf. Notebook W 56 for
437 1923, quoted in Schwimmer 1973: 140.
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177 concepts drawn from the scene of world affairs. While among the
829 Orokaiva, I heard talk about Vietnam, Indonesia, Africa, India. The
political orientation displayed was a mild kind of nationalism, and
a sense of closeness to newly independent non-white states. But the
[203] information, derived from radio broadcasts and speeches by councillors,
introduced an acculturative kind of perspective. Its dissemination is
being actively encouraged by the Australian authorities.

465 Use of money: Before the eruption, money played a very minor role
in village life. It was earned by men who were away for limited
[464] periods working on plantations. Money wages on plantations were, and
are, extremely low; wages for agreement labour in 1962 were, for
instance, $39 per annum for the first year of which $12 is paid out
in monthly installments and the rest at the end of the year. In the
second year, the rate rose to $45.50 p.a. (Howlett, 1965) Urban wages
are a great deal higher than this; most Sivepe men who were absent
on employment worked on urban jobs. At the same time, a regular
income was derived from coffee.

464 Sivepe men were simply not interested in jobs at plantation
rates of pay, nor were they interested in "carrying" jobs for the
435 government even though wages in that case were higher. They were also
indifferent to selling their garden products on the Saiho and Popondetta
438 markets, as there were frequent gluts, prices were low and carrying
goods to market was an unduly arduous task.

Money was used largely to buy goods in the luxury rather than
436 the subsistence sphere. Money was essential for payment of taxes
511 and for a minimum of clothes, often acquired cheaply at jumble sales.
Otherwise, it was used to buy tobacco, food for feasts, kerosene
mainly used for feasting occasions, cartridges for hunting, again for
feasts. Among the larger purchases made were radios, pressure lamps,
bicycles, tools; all these, however, could never be paid for with
current income. One had to depend on special windfalls: a gift from
454 a relative in town, a bride price. Money was not only for spending,
however; it was also for saving. I shall refer to the organisation
556 of corporate saving later; in addition a number of Sivepe men had
savings, of the order of $10-$20, sometimes more, hidden away. This
money was kept for special occasions, but in addition, the very fact
of possessing it was regarded as important. I was once told that
Europeans were powerful because they had money; the Orokaiva could
get power only if they too possessed savings.

If money was definitely highly valued, it was only to a limited
436 extent regarded as a standard of value. If we accept some model such
437 as was suggested by Salisbury (1962), we may say that the Orokaiva
have three spheres of exchange: a subsistence, luxury and ritual
sphere, while bank notes are used for special, often ritual occasions.
[461] In the acquisition of luxury goods of any kind, including money, the
Orokaiva tend to weigh the benefits gained by them against their cost
in time and unpleasantness and against the benefits that can be gained
from other investments. Money is, in general, wanted only if it can

461 be acquired without too much hard labour or threat to status, and only
if its acquisition does not involve foregoing other more highly valued
[436 benefits. Thus, the market has a great elasticity of supply: when
[437 the price seems right to the Orokaiva, supply suddenly emerges from
all directions; when the price is lowered, there is suddenly no supply
[435 at all. The investment of effort is at once directed into different
avenues: subsistence gardening, house-building, a project for the
mission, or a hall for the women's club, or a hunting expedition, or
practises for a dance.

177 Comparison with Inonda: In this section I have discussed a small
number of acculturation variables as they apply to Sivepe. In general
184 they apply to Inonda also, but there are a few minor differences to
be mentioned. The most important of these is that whereas one can speak, in Sivepe, about a certain stage in acculturation reached by the community, it is less easy to do the same for Inonda where, at one end of the scale, we find fairly young men without cash-cropping skills, without school education, and almost entirely aloof from the money economy, while at the other end, one man has become a government driver and would need to be considered, in every respect, as more acculturated than any man of the same age group at Sivepe. It would be wrong to suggest, however, that acculturation in Sivepe was homogeneous; nor that the conservatism of part of Inonda is necessarily a long-term phenomenon.

There is no difference in food habits between the two villages, except that the government driver, having more money, eats better. In respect to clothing, it seemed that in Sivepe young women are a little more prone to cover their breasts than in Inonda; this is of course very much a matter of fashion and can change in months. With regard to housing, changes were actually occurring during the year I was in the field. Houses were being enlarged up to approximately the Sivepe size, and this programme was explained to me as due to the forthcoming feast at which the Seva people were invited and the new floor space was needed to accommodate them. The argument was thus not quite the same as at Sivepe, where the larger houses were thought of as a necessary part of "iji eha," the new age. "Timber" was not used in Inonda, all the walls being of sago. The "timber" fashion never travelled as far East as Inonda; I doubt whether Inonda had enough suitable trees and, furthermore, Inonda did not have the same shortage of sago. Though sago was rare on Inonda lands, the residents had a plentiful supply from other lands belonging to relatives. At Inonda, only some of the people used rubbish holes, whereas the others threw their refuse into the bush. On the other hand, the village was most plentifully and attractively laid out with shrubs and ornamental plants. Inonda, built a special feast house for their visitors from Seva, whereas Sivepe did not do so for their visitors from Togahou. This definitely reflected a non-traditional attitude in Sivepe.

177 In the attitude to money, and to education, Inonda was clearly
436 split between the traditionalist and the modern faction. The modern
faction was, in fact more money-oriented than were the Sivepe people.
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571 But for most everyday purposes, the cooperative alliance is even smaller and does not extend beyond the three-generation family.

Relations with uterines, affines, and more distant agnates (that is, those
571 beyond the lineage, and those who are resident in other villages) follow the
604 pattern of competitive exchange. An example of what this implies would be
881 the role of mother's brother as officiator at initiations. Elsewhere, (Schwimmer, 1970b) I show that ideologically, he is the proper person for the office, but that the father's brother and even the father would do as well. The mother's brother is not obliged to act; he is paid if he acts; furthermore he will act only if prior to an initiation, the neophyte involved has obliged his uncle by rendering him small services and being pleasant to him. Certainly the mo/bro si/so relationship is a warm affectionate one, but it is explicitly free from unconditional obligation. It is, in fact, the first formal relationship into which a person enters, where prestations on both sides are by free choice.

602 How can we explain that, at least in Sasembata, the Orokaiva classify guest friends with the sibling group (by applying the terms *apa/eambo* to
572 them), whereas the Tangu use an affinal idiom? The answer is that siblingship
171 has different connotations in the two tribes. Burridge (1969) emphasizes, above all, the amity that must govern the relationship between senior and junior siblings among the Tangu. If the junior sibling becomes unduly competitive, it is not held against him, but the relationship is redefined so that he becomes a *mwerkindang* – a competitor instead of a subordinate and protégé. The Orokaiva do not permit such a change in status; the younger brother must obey or sever his relations with his family. Moreover, the *apa/eambo* relationship is not confined to the cooperative alliance but includes distant agnates and all uterines within the exogamous group. A good deal of competition and exchange normally occurs between such kin, although the ideology of the *apa/eambo* relationship is basically that of a corporate group pooling resources for the support and protection of its members.

431 Secondly, the custom of classifying guest friends with siblings is not
general among Orokaiva; the Sangara use the term *namei*. Furthermore,
437 terminology is as much an ideological device as a reflection of reality. Use of
572 *apa/eambo* means that people should behave *as if* they were siblings; that is, make free gifts instead of exchange gifts. These terms may be used when one seeks to extract a presentation from a comparative stranger, in which case they mean little more than an appeal *ad misericordiam*. In an hereditary friendship in which it is unusual to make claims, the terms signify that the gifts made to a visiting friend are not repayable but free. Certainly, it would
[576] be considered wrong to press claims on the basis of such gifts. On the other
hand, the host is expected (*not* merely permitted) to make a return visit, and
[626] if he does not present gifts on that occasion, he will certainly be the subject
[558] of gossip and loss of reputation.

In considering the manner in which these gifts are given, Sahlins'

431 (1965) distinction between generalized and balanced reciprocity may be
437 useful. Let us note, however, that the relationship between the fictional
apa/eambo is one where kin distance is infinite (they are not kinsmen) so
572 that according to Sahlins' model, balanced reciprocity should apply. Instead,
the norm is generalized reciprocity, as one gives all one has, be it much or
[421] little. The crux of the *apa/eambo* relationship, real or fictional, is that property is pooled and belongs to all members of the group equally. When brothers live together, or when they hold land in common and thus are able to live together, such pooling occurs perpetually. Hereditary friends meet rarely – frequently not even as often as once a year. Thus, their ability to use the pool, or contribute to it, is limited. But the manner of giving emphasizes an ideology that is a pooling relationship. Hence, the return visit is obligatory for the host: the gifts given with the first visit express symbolically a statement by partner A to B: "you are my brother." But for the relationship to persist, B must be able to reply in the same idiom: "you, A, are my brother," and he can make this statement only by presenting gifts in his own village.

(601) The ambiguity is now clear: the hereditary friendship relation is one between partners who act out the role of brothers. It is possible to show this ambiguity on the formal level of kinship terminology by inquiring into the term of reference and address used for the wife of an hereditary friend. By the rules of the kinship system, she should be called *hovatu*, but she is in fact called *du*, as the restraints of the affinal relationship are considered too irksome.

Changes in Group Membership Status

From what has been said above, it is clear that the principle of generalized reciprocity holds with regard to the equivalence of gifts between friends. The mythological charter explicity states that a small gift in times of shortage, is to be deemed equivalent to a large gift in times of abundance. On the other hand, the principle of balanced reciprocity holds concerning the pattern of exchanges, in that every visit is followed by a return visit, at the end of which balance is expected to be achieved.

572 Let us consider the development of friendship relations. In the course of a
lifetime, a person meets many strangers of whom the congenial ones may
628 become *otavo* or fictional *simbo*. He will be especially attracted to a few with whom he establishes a permanent kin-like bond, either on the *apa/eambo* or the *simbo* model. Occasions for such encounters may be feasts between previously hostile groups so that the groups of which the hereditary friends are members may not share the friendly feelings of the individuals who have become *otavo*, *namei*, *jao*, *simbo*, and the like. Thus, inter-community conflicts may come and go and the bond may continue over the generations. Far from this being a betrayal of group loyalties, the friendship

572 602 608 [824] The rejection of both the cooperative and the competitive relationship applies to fictive *simbo* as well as to the genealogical *simbo*. The sharing of a fruit is a ritual that is sometimes performed between a married couple; for example, when the community has decided to hold a feast. It symbolizes that the partners become one. But a twin fruit is not completely one; from another viewpoint, it consists of two separable halves. Here, it is again deceptive to speak of "fictive" *simbo*. Rather, it is more accurate to say that consanguinity of a certain type is one attribute of the tenure of a relationship while sharing a twin fruit is another equivalent attribute of tenure.

The basic concern of the *simbo* relationship lies in critical and dangerous enterprises, and inasmuch, it is reasonable to want the company of someone who, if necessary, is willing to die with his *simbo*. The relationship resembles marriage in its total interdependence. The Orokaiva system of classification is able to make a clear distinction between this pattern and the *namei* pattern with its far more stable socio-political setting.

572 ● [437] (d) *Otavo*. Friendships are more numerous now than in the past when travel was more dangerous. The *otavo* relationship, which may exist between cognates and non-cognates alike, applies primarily to a specific activity in which pairing is required. Its main starting points were, traditionally, trading and feasting. When a man visited a strange village to trade, say, lime, feathers, areca, or a string bag, *and* if buyer and seller were personally attracted to one another, then an enduring *otavo* relationship might develop.

572 574 Similarly, feasting occasions between villages often result in *otavo* relations. Partnerships have to be arranged for accommodating guests in host households. Sometimes guest and host families are strangers before the feast, but are paired together at a preliminary meeting. Such a relationship might be ephemeral but it is usual to keep to the same partnerships for the return visit. If the partners are sufficiently attracted to each other, an hereditary friendship will result. In the second generation, if not before, the *apa/eambo* terminology will be used.

[535] The term *otavo* is also used to refer to partners who choose one another specifically for dancing. The partners are of the same sex and they tend to stay together for long periods. They may or may not be consanguines.

572 *Otavo* relations are essentially competitive, both partners vying with one another in trade, prowess in war, hospitality, the dance. They also compete with the rest of the group in that some couples enjoy a higher reputation than others. Feasting partners make a great effort to gather many gifts for one another; competitive giving is, for the most part, on the level of households. Outside the activity, the *otavo* have no obligations toward one another.

In modern times, friendships can have many other starting points: work in a plantation, study in a boarding school, and other activities. Traditional connections were often with villages at the outer edge of the area where intra-group morality applied (in the sense of Williams, 1930), and sometimes a little beyond.

241 taro ancestress is usually described as discovering the taro in a lake
773 or other 'round water'. The demigod Totima comes closest to
providing a general model of the primeval world of the swidden
824 agriculturist and pig-raiser. Like Prometheus he is a sacrificial
figure.[16]

Totoima was at the origin of the feasting institution (though
577 there are other myths of the origin of feasting). It is here that
773 questions of moral values mostly arise as feasting (*ergo* peace
making) is the moral act *par excellence.* A direct connection is
laid between the virtue of settling conflict and of feasting on the
one hand and the fertility and yield of the garden on the other,
241 as enemies are thought to ensorcell the gardens. Another important
596 factor was the 'care' (*simbari*) (a general term covering magical as
well as technical aspects) taken of the garden. The eldest male of the
extended family, as father of the land, had a special duty as regards
[769] *simbari.* Garden magic was, however, made by all married males;
they also made gifts to ancestors, who were thought to live in
gardens and be reborn from there.

554 The model of the virtuous man was he who shared out his produce
and made feasts (*hande embo*). Such a man would grow a surplus of
577 food in a feasting garden. His power (*ivo*) would be manifest in the
abundance of his pigs and taro. The model of the 'active man'
would be the organizer of feasts in which the whole village participated (*kiti jigari embo*). Subordinate to him, but still high in
reputation, would be experts at sorcery, healing, feather
decoration and various forms of hunting, as well as those excelling
in debate, rhetoric and diplomacy (*keari embo*).[17]

241 Identification occurred not only with crops, gods and ancestors,
774 but also with trees harbouring local spirits, plant emblems harbouring
lineage ancestors, animal guardians and plant doubles which were
kept in the garden (usually surrounded by medicinal herbs) and
contained the owner's life spirit, or perhaps name-spirit for the
man bore the plant's name. A more complex aspect of identification
with pigs and feast gardens is that such produce is destined to be
given away, i.e. the owner expects to lose control over it; yet the
donor remains identified with it and it calls for a return.[18] The
same is true for the range of manufactures (clothes, pots,
ornaments) that change hands at feasts.

● 437 The pattern described here is characteristic of what Sahlins
(1974) called the domestic mode of production. Such a system
436 produces, in his opinion, nothing but use values, even if they are
'exchanged' at feasts, for such 'exchange' is symbolically equivalent
to a temporary extension of commensality. Slightly more complex

437 is the contemporary case where money replaces traditional valuables.
436 Is this money a 'use value'? Anthropologists have often analyzed it as
such and not without some justification; the Orokaiva for instance
[583] present brideprice banknotes tied one by one to a tall sapling carried
aloft by the donor and thus transported to the wifegiver. After
presentation it is often stored in wait for other similar occasions.
The fact is, however, that eventually this treasure is converted into
exchange values. Furthermore, it owes its status as a valuable to its
potential exchange value. It is therefore more easily accounted for
in the preset four-system method of analysis as will appear later.

437 The same remark may be made in respect of labour assistance
between households which is normally given without payments
476 except for a meal at the end of the day. If, however, the service
is given in connection with work for which the person assisted will
eventually get paid, then the service falls within a different
[427] category and must be paid for. The same rule applies to the granting
of land useholds for which no rent is ever demanded if the land
produces (only) use values, but the situation changes when it
produces exchange values. Use value is therefore a concept determining Orokaiva behaviour.

829 Finally, it is as true of the Orokaiva as of the ancient Greeks that
conflict and war (*isoro*) did not have a necessarily negative connotation
connotation. They might be bad or good according to circumstances.
War, sorcery and other forms of negative reciprocity are part of this
mode of production; they cannot be equated to 'alienation'. There
is increasing evidence that Levi-Strauss (1943) was correct in viewing
war in these societies as a modality of interdependence.

241 To sum up, the Orokaiva had a basic classification of *pure* as
between subsistence and feasting. An inspection of the crop by the
824 feast-giver was needed to let crops pass from the subsistence to the
feasting category. (It was not done if the harvest was insufficient.)
The term *pure ari*, whatever its customary translation into English,
was never used to denote any kind of effectiveness in ensuring a
food supply. In case of garden failure, people did not ascribe it to
neglectful *pure ari* but rather to neglectful *simbari*. It is the demigods
of the various crops and the ancestors who do the actual producing
in the garden, and all that is expected of man is to clear, to plant
and to protect against magical and technical dangers. Watchfulness
is the key; toil is a consequence. A flawless garden testifies to
watchfulness in the first instance; to physical prowess also, but only
in the second instance. In this respect i.e. the technical as well as the
magical watchfulness, *pure ari* is intermediate between the Greek
concepts of ΕΡΓΟΝ and ΤΕΧΝΗ.

794 Cargo deities are renewed for each movement; in all cases their
return to earth would not only bring the wealth but also a new
776 moral order. They would banish strife, indeed brotherhood between tribes is a condition of their return. This idea existed in the Northern Province of Papua New Guinea as early as the Taro movement of 1914 (Williams 1928). The work to be done is ritual work for which the design (*ove*) is laid down by the prophet of the cult. The form of *simbari* required here has to do with certain ritual places where the miraculous return might take place – among the Orokaiva, often graveyards. As for the cargo itself, the correct term is *hande*, i.e. generous sharing out of the treasure that has previously remained hidden from the New Guineans.

435 All these concepts will seem marginal until one sees their
implications for everyday events. To this end, let us consider the
436 position of money as *hande*. Most anthropologists have treated ceremonial money prestations as simply equivalent to traditional valuables. But is it really? First of all, it is common knowledge that traditional valuables are no longer acceptable as a substitute for money. This has sometimes been interpreted as a purely secular liking for money, which to a westerner seems so plausible that he does not see the need for explanation. If the money is presented as a money tree, this again can be explained away as substitution within a traditional idiom.

When I discussed savings societies, I expected to be given an explanation in terms of practical spending projects or other economic considerations but was given a political argument instead. It was to equal the power of the Europeans, so I was told. Again, a friend was presented with a dollar to be taken back with him to New Zealand. He should put it in the bank there, so he was told, and then it would multiply a thousandfold. On an apparently quite different topic, wages, I was told that the wealth created by them exceeded by far what they were given as pay.

472 It is for this reason that Orokaiva are exceedingly interested in
'business', both cooperative and individual. I have personally
474 observed a copra cooperative and several trade store and truck projects, both cooperative and individual. Newton (1978), in a village close to the ones I know, describes in much detail six trade stores, four truck ventures and a cattle project, which represents a great deal of activity for one small village over a six-months period. Several of these projects were cooperative. All of them were failures. The fact that the ventures all fail does not stop people from repeating the experience year after year.

437 Let us now consider in detail one of the events described by
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437 Newton. She points out that though, in general, people help each
other without expecting payment in money, cash must be paid for
476 activities where the employer expects to make a profit, i.e. where
he is engaged in 'business'. There was a Youth Group who offered
themselves for labour contracts but nobody "hired the group to
build a house – a subsistence activity". Labour was "treated as a
commodity" and used only to create exchange values.

472 Now, Newton suggests this was because such money-making "was
seen as a corporate action and necessitated profit sharing". Thus,
474 children were paid if they carried cash crops to market. They were,
however, compensated according to age, rather than according to
time and labour input. "Eldest sons and daughters received a large
portion, as might senior shareholders in a family company."

Thus, people were doing exactly the same labour in the village as they were paid for outside. Outside, this labour was alienating because workers had no control over the product of their labour. In the village businesses, they did share control of the product. But, from the pay rates quoted by Newton, it is clear that the 'business' could never afford the rates allowed. Why this perpetual disproportion between the small yield and the large distribution to shareholders?

[799] The common pattern in all the data I have quoted lies in the
miraculous increase of which money is thought to be capable
once it has been subjected to certain ritual practices which the
Orokaiva call 'business'. These are rituals which work when
practised on a taro shoot – it swells, it multiplies. Ever since
the taro cult, taro is the model for multiplication.

But the problem thus posed is insoluble. How, indeed, could these businesses prosper? Only by paying the workers less, by giving no credit, by ensuring that one takes more money from the brothers in the village than they ever get back. Only, in fact, by their alienation. There are so few of them; they have so little – one must be greedy indeed to survive in those villages in business. But alienation is not part of their project. They want the businesses to succeed without alienation. It is in this that they are a religious rather than economic practice.

Thus it is not from ignorance that they fail. Furthermore,
it is only the White observers and social scientists who see anything
tragic in these failures. If the Orokaiva thought them tragic, they
[554] would stop setting them up again and again. Miss Newton rightly
comments that you gain status even by, and especially by failing.
Your business dies; its limbs or assets are spread among the
multitude and increase exceedingly. It is a religious practice.[27]